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Defective Perceptions: Vision as Consumption in  
Spanish Art, c. 1766-1794

María Mercedes Cerón-Peña

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## Abstract

This thesis explores how the image of ‘the people’ was constructed in Spanish visual culture between 1766 and 1794. The argument begins considering the problem that the representation of the people posed for the Spanish government in the aftermath of the 1766 revolts. The first chapter studies the relation between bureaucratic and medical projects to know and to control the population and parallel attempts to depict the people who gathered in public spaces in Francisco Goya’s tapestry cartoons. In the second chapter, the depiction of ‘the people’ in the views of Cantabrian ports painted by Luis Paret in the 1780s is examined in connection with the imported idea of ‘the picturesque’ and with the definition of an ideal observer.

Chapters three and four focus on the explanations of the act of perception whose knowledge was valued by eighteenth-century Spanish theoreticians as an essential requirement of the ideal spectator. Chapter three also contemplates the ways in which anxieties concerning the increasing visibility of women in the public sphere conditioned the notion of the ideal observer. The role of women as both consumers and spectators prompted a redefinition of perception in which the primacy of sight was asserted. In this chapter, manifestations of occularcentrism are assessed in regard of the theories on perception associated with sensationalism, with which they co-existed. Chapter four explores the role that optical instruments and medical treatises on perception had in Spanish visual culture during this period.

In the last chapter, the adoption of new techniques by Spanish painters and printmakers is presented as contributing to the redefinition of the ‘natural style’ characteristic of the Spanish school. Spanish theoreticians’ defence of naturalism was not only a matter of identity, but also the means of marketing Spanish commodities. The economic and symbolic role of this form of ‘naturalism’ helped relocate the visual arts within the enlightened project and within contemporary debates on luxury and consumption.

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## Introduction: On Fancy-Fair Painting

‘Here, every picture badly painted is proverbially called a fancy-fair painting’. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez explained the meaning of this popular phrase to the unidentified addressee (‘a friend of his’) of his *Letter on the Style and Taste of the Sevillian School*.<sup>1</sup> In this essay, Ceán tried to vindicate the ‘naturalism’ that had become almost synonymous with the Spanish School by tracing its origins back to seventeenth-century Sevillian painting. He was careful to distinguish the facility and brilliancy of ‘naturalist’ painters from the mannerisms and carelessness of those who produced and sold large numbers of paintings despite their lack of adequate training and skills. He associated their works with the goods on display in street markets and fairs, where paintings could be found among pieces of furniture, clothes, trinkets and pottery. These markets were the subject of paintings like *The Fair of Madrid*, commissioned by the king Charles III from Ceán’s friend Francisco Goya about 1778.

Like Ceán’s text, Goya’s painting suggests a number of concerns pervasive in the visual culture of late eighteenth-century Spain. In the following five chapters, I demonstrate that the questions of naturalism, deception and commercialisation implicit in Ceán’s words and in Goya’s early works intersect in the physical and metaphorical space of the marketplace. The promotion of a ‘national’ school that could compete with the dominant French and Italian classicizing models demanded a

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<sup>1</sup> . ‘Llaman aquí por proverbio *pintura de feria* á todo quadro mal pintado’ (Ceán Bermúdez, J. A. *Carta de D. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez a un Amigo Suo, Sobre el Estilo y Gusto en la Pintura de la Escuela Sevillana; y sobre el grado de perfeccion a que la llevó Bartolomé Estevan Murillo...*, Cádiz, 1806 [reprinted 1968], pp. 36-38).

redefinition of the term 'naturalist'. This qualification was applied not only to seventeenth-century painters, such as Velázquez, but also to Goya and his contemporaries. Moreover, the crisis in traditional forms of patronage led painters to explore other possibilities in the marketplace.<sup>2</sup> The change of scenery for the 'consumption' of Painting, removed from the church or the palace to the major square, triggered anxieties about its contamination by the moral diseases traditionally associated with urban life.

The situation faced by Goya and his Spanish contemporaries was not new. The problems surrounding painting in a commercial society have already been addressed by David Solkin and Thomas Crow, among others, with regard to the situation of England and France in the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> John Barrell has also studied the changes in the theory of painting and in the definition of the 'republic of taste' resulting from the reworking of the discourse of civic humanism to accommodate commerce.<sup>4</sup> By the time Britain and France had assimilated these changes and dealt with the social and economic upheavals associated with the consumer and industrial revolutions, Spain was starting to come to terms with the effects of its own accelerated economic development. Turning to British and French precedents in search of models and explanations seemed to be the most logical option. The Anglophilia noticed by contemporary observers was not restricted to English imports and fashions: the authority of Mandeville was invoked by Spanish authors to justify luxury and conspicuous consumption and *The Spectator* provided

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<sup>2</sup> . In relation to Goya, see Symmons, S., *Goya: In Pursuit of Patronage*. London: Fraser, 1988.

<sup>3</sup> . Solkin, D., *Painting for Money: the visual arts and the public sphere in eighteenth-century England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993. Crow, T., *Painters and public life in eighteenth-century Paris*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985.

<sup>4</sup> . Barrell, J., *The Political Theory of Painting. From Reynolds to Hazlitt*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986.

their periodicals with a suitable format and an appropriate language to describe social change.

The ‘naturalism’ of Spanish painting could also be invested with the prestige of scientificity by virtue of a vague connection with British experimental philosophy. The term ‘naturalism’ might be considered anachronistic in this context. Yet the adjective ‘naturalist’ was applied to Spanish painters first by Anton Raphael Mengs and then by other theoreticians, such as Goya’s friend and patron Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. With this meaning, the word appeared in the dictionary of the academy in 1783.<sup>5</sup> Ceán’s essay tried to dispel some of the negative connotations associated with the word ‘natural’, which meant not only ‘what pertains to Nature’ or ‘what is produced without artifice, industry or art’, but also ‘what imitates Nature’ and ‘what is easily believed because it is regular and common’.<sup>6</sup>

The model of observation proposed by empirical science was essentially occularcentric, in the sense in which Martin Jay uses this term.<sup>7</sup> Sight was not only the dominant sense, but also a source of metaphors for reliable knowledge and enlightenment. Scholars like Ewa Lajer-Burchardt, Angela Rosenthal or Melissa Hyde have exposed this decorporealized occularcentrism as gender-biased. They have also suggested the availability of alternative models relying on the theories and systems of perception and representation that called the primacy of sight into question. Early symptoms of this crisis, which Jonathan Crary locates in the early

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<sup>5</sup> . It was defined as ‘the person who deals with, inquires after and examines the qualities, properties and attributes of the natural beings, specially with regard to animals, plants and minerals’ (*Diccionario de la RAE*. Madrid, 1783, p. 658).

<sup>6</sup> . ‘Se dice también de las cosas que imitan a la naturaleza con propiedad... Lo que es regular y comunmente sucede; y por eso es facilmente creíble’ (*Diccionario de la RAE*. Madrid, 1780, p. 644).

nineteenth century, can be traced back to the rich literature on optical instruments produced during the heyday of experimental philosophy.

This thesis explores how vision is constructed as a form of consumption in Spanish visual culture between 1766 and 1794. It benefits from the approach to the problem of the ‘consumption of culture’ proposed by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer in the collection of essays that addressed the subject with regard to eighteenth-century England and France.<sup>8</sup> Although the birth of a consumer society in late eighteenth-century Spain can be a matter of debate, I will argue that awareness of its symptoms was widespread among moralists, political economists and social reformers.

My work is concerned with the forms of resistance available within given systems of representation. It aims at determining how the terms in which perception and representation were staged and explained at the end of the eighteenth century could and were reversed and redefined. It focuses on Goya’s early works because they have often been regarded as ‘neutral’ and ‘pleasant’, in contrast with his ‘darker’, politically complex images produced after 1793.<sup>9</sup> The same qualities have been emphasised with regard to Paret’s paintings and drawings. They can be associated with the ‘social picturesque’ whose emergence Valeriano Bozal has connected with the production of the royal tapestry factory.<sup>10</sup> Their association with Spanish interpretations of the French rococo has been argued to favour the study of

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<sup>7</sup> . Jay, M., ‘Scopic regimes of modernity’, in Foster, H., ed., *Vision and Visuality*. Seattle: Bay Press, 1988.

<sup>8</sup> . Bermingham, A. and Brewer, J., eds., *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*. London: Routledge, 1995.

<sup>9</sup> . For a recent example of this view, see Hughes, R., *Goya*. London: The Harvill Press, 2003, pp. 8-15.

their technical and ornamental values, thus neglecting their problematic subject matter.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, the strategies of self-presentation staged by certain female sitters in eighteenth-century portraiture called into question the fragmentation of the senses that characterises the Cartesian paradigm.<sup>12</sup> It is in this respect that the 'visceral culture' reclaimed by Angela Rosenthal offers an opportunity to redress the traditional hierarchy of the senses.<sup>13</sup> This approach encourages the analysis of the 'politics of looking', or the ways in which discourses aimed at denying the agency of the represented subject can be reversed.<sup>14</sup> The arguments that refused the possibility of women's agency as detached 'scientific' observers could be ultimately appropriated by the female spectator / consumer. The role of women in the marketplace could be asserted by emphasising the same perceptual differences that had been considered as detrimental. Although I will address the problem of the observer in terms of gender, I have tried to avoid the reductive nature of dichotomous thinking that identifies vision and 'the body' with models of knowledge essentially gendered.

The reception of sensationalism and of the writings of Étienne Bonnot de Condillac will be my point of departure to analyze the existence of alternative

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<sup>10</sup> . Bozal, V. 'La formación del costumbrismo en la estampa popular española del siglo XVIII', in *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, no. 324, 1982, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> . An example of this approach can be found in the catalogue of the exhibition *Luis Paret y Alcázar y los Puertos del País Vasco*. Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 1996.

<sup>12</sup> . Scott, K. 'Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour', in *Between Luxury and the Everyday. Art History Special Issues*, vol. 28, n° 2, 2005, pp. 248-290.

<sup>13</sup> . Rosenthal, A. 'Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture', in *Art History*, vol. 27, no. 4, September 2004, pp. 563-592.

<sup>14</sup> . Pollock, G. 'Beholding Art History: Vision, Place and Power', in Melville, S. and Readings, B., eds. *Vision and Textuality*. Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1995, pp. 38-66.



models of perception in late eighteenth-century Spain.<sup>15</sup> Condillac's influence in the court of Madrid has been traced through his links to the court of Parma, where Charles III's daughter-in-law María Luisa, was brought up. The importance that María Luisa's support had for Goya's career has been often acknowledged and her role as an influential patron of decorative arts has also been noticed.<sup>16</sup> That she might have been recognised as a discerning critic when still Princess of Asturias is suggested by Goya's often quoted words regarding the Prince's reaction to the decoration of San Francisco El Grande in 1783:

Some are of the opinion that the Prince was only repeating what someone with appreciation of the art had said, for he would not have such understanding of these things.<sup>17</sup>

The 2002 exhibition *Goya: Images of Women* provided an occasion to consider the painter's awareness of the increasing significance of female patronage.<sup>18</sup> Goya's letter to Zapater on his 'painting' or making up the face of the Duchess of Alba has been interpreted as a sign of the close relation between painter and sitter.<sup>19</sup> The anecdote, however, illustrates late-eighteenth-century attitudes to imitation and to the relation between artifice and nature lying at the core of the debate on the

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<sup>15</sup> . Although taking into account the specificity of the Spanish case, I have followed Marian Hobson's study of perception and representation in eighteenth-century France, especially with regard to her analysis of Condillac's influence (see Hobson, M. *The Object of Art. The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 238-243).

<sup>16</sup> . López Marsa, F. 'El tocador de la Princesa de Asturias en el Palacio de El Pardo', in *Reales Sitios*, vol. 31, no. 122, pp. 49-56.

<sup>17</sup> . Letter from Goya to Martín Zapater, 11/06/1783, in Symmons, S., ed., *Goya. A Life in Letters*. London: Pimlico, 2004, doc. no. 95, p. 134.

<sup>18</sup> . Tomlinson, J., ed. *Goya: Images of Women*. Washington: National Gallery of Art; London: Yale University Press, 2002.

<sup>19</sup> . The letter was dated in London, 02/08/1800 (probably July 1794), in Symmons, op. cit., 2004, doc. no. 244, p. 246.

‘natural’ style.<sup>20</sup> Moreover it exemplifies the conflation of those three questions (imitation, artifice and nature) in the strategies of self-presentation of Goya’s female sitters.

The first chapter considers the link between the visual and the political representation of the Spanish people in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In this section, I address the construction of the idea of ‘the people’ in medical and bureaucratic texts. The chapter is structured in three parts: the first part poses the problem of the 1766 events and their lack of visual representations. Puzzled attempts at representing the people in official documents and contemporary accounts of the riots are regarded in connection with the forms of self-presentation in which the people presumably recognized themselves. The main sites of production of this imagery associated with ‘popular’ entertainment were the stage and the street. The role of these public spaces as the site of subversion and transgression is analyzed and called into question in the second part of the first chapter.

The measures implemented to police public spaces were somewhat undermined by the blurring of social distinctions evidenced in the marketplace and re-enacted in fairs and masquerades. The people depicted by Goya are difficult to classify within specific social groups: they are represented selling and buying, often engaged in commercial transactions which cannot be easily ‘mapped’. The third part of this first chapter will consider how these anxieties concerning the scientific knowledge of the population were addressed in medical and bureaucratic discourses. One of the outcomes of the Esquilache revolts was a newly acquired awareness of

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<sup>20</sup> . Lichtenstein, J. *The Eloquence of Color. Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

the necessity of controlling the population. Such need found its bureaucratic expression in three successive censuses of the Spanish population before the end of the century.

The period between 1770 and 1840 witnessed a general development of new forms of control, whose pervasive nature has been explored by Michel Foucault. My study, however, is more concerned with the ‘reverse of interwoven resistances, deviations and illegalities’ coexisting with these ‘regimes of power’.<sup>21</sup> Masquerades and theatrical spectacles, but also the possibilities for disguise and delusion offered by the public spaces of the city, will be thus analysed as evidence of this resistance to representation. With regard to these decades, Roger Chartier observes

Although it was indeed a moment in which disciplinary procedures, new technologies of surveillance, and panoptical mechanisms were constituted as essential methods for organizing and controlling social space, that does not mean that they actually gridded, policed, and disciplined the social world. Their proliferation shows their weakness, not their efficacy.<sup>22</sup>

In the second chapter, I argue that the reception and assimilation of ‘the picturesque’ in Spain coincides with the necessity of a new visual language to represent specific sectors of the population. The picturesque was perceived as the means of neutralizing the potentially disturbing connotations of conflictive subjects. In this chapter, Paret’s series of views of Cantabrian ports are examined as examples of the ‘naturalization’ of images of work and social unrest. They represent the Basque ports at a time when the incompatibility between their traditional privileges

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<sup>21</sup> . Chartier, R., *On the Edge of the Cliff. History, Language and Practices*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 67.

<sup>22</sup> . Ibid., pp. 66-67.

and the new regulations fostering free trade were being negotiated. Although William Gilpin explicitly denied that scenes of toil could appeal to the 'picturesque eye', Paret's works found a compromise characteristic of the Spanish 'eclectic' version of the picturesque. The 'picturesque' printed images imported in large numbers in the 1770s and 1780s did not have the same value for the British public as for a Spanish audience. What the Spanish spectator consumed was the novelty of their techniques and modes of representation, as well as their fashionable 'foreignness'.

The third chapter considers changes in the modes of representation existing in late eighteenth-century Spanish visual culture as symptomatic of a shift of emphasis in the discourses surrounding perception. Goya's and Paret's works suggest the development of compositional systems of 'layering' and 'zooming' based on their knowledge of the operations of the eye. These ways of seeing would presuppose an interaction among the senses responsive not only to contemporary philosophical trends, but also to the demands of a market that valued novelty and technical sophistication.

After considering the construction and uses of the image of 'the people', in this chapter I will inquire into the possibility of a similar process underlying the construction of 'femininity' in Spain during the same period. My study of Goya's early works contemplates the degree of public visibility of women as consumers in representations of economic activities. Their presence in the marketplace became a matter of serious consideration for Spanish moralists and economic writers, who attributed to them specific ways of seeing and of reacting to the objects on display.

The apprehension of female subjects in the simultaneous role of observers and of objects of the spectator's gaze introduced a destabilising element within the field of vision. I aim to determine how the increasing relevance of female consumers / spectators eroded dominant paradigms of perception and evidenced the parallels between the structure of vision and that of an economic transaction.

The third chapter also addresses the possibility of the re-embodiment of vision when relocated in the marketplace, the problems that it posed and the obstacles that it encountered. Class, race and gender are introduced as variables in the permutations that structure the act of seeing in order to evince implicit positions of dominance and submission. Sight and the set of discourses contributing to the historical construction of vision ought to be considered in relation to the social structures within which they are produced. The possibility of a redistribution of roles within the fields of vision and representation was facilitated to a point by the instability of the emerging commercial society, a process conditioned by contemporary and previous debates on consumption, which were gendered and socially determined.

The second part of this chapter considers the reform of medical studies, practice and institutions in Spain in the 1780s with regard to a pervasive concern with the state of the 'body' of the people. Spanish students enrolled at Scottish universities and attended anatomical demonstrations in London, while the import of anatomical treatises and printed images challenged existing notions on the body and its representation. The special attention and resources bestowed on the study of obstetrics and venereal diseases were justified in contemporary writings by

references to an alarming decrease of the population and to the ‘corrupted’ morals of modern society. I argue that the techniques adopted to ‘visualize’ and to re-enact anatomical demonstrations in treatises and manuals offered a solution to the conflict between deceptive mimesis and ‘naturalist’ representation.

Deception, mimesis and naturalist forms of representation were also some of the concerns underlying the writings on optics and optical instruments that arrived in Spain imported from Britain. Works like Joseph Priestley’s *History of Vision* or George Adams’s *Micrographia Illustrata* included observations on the drawbacks and shortcomings of vision, as well as warnings on the delusions caused by optical devices originally designed to aid and supplement the human eye. In the fourth chapter, I consider how these comments, originally added as disclaimers or provisos, opened up lines of inquiry that called into question the primacy of sight. The ‘awareness of the complexity and even fragility of the act of perception’ that they prompted was part of the ‘mental equipment’ informing social practices which were, if not homogeneous, at least widely available.<sup>23</sup>

The effect of optical devices and treatises in the visual culture of late eighteenth-century Spain was broad and far-reaching. It operated beyond the medical institutions in whose libraries they were shelved or beyond the king’s circle, for whom these books and instruments were purchased in London. The problematization of the equation of vision and knowledge might not have been decisive enough to prompt a change of paradigm at this stage. But it suggests the existence of significant

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<sup>23</sup> . Baxandall, M. *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 76-77. I use Baxandall’s notion of ‘mental equipment’ with the reservations with regard to its application to a specific period of society examined by Langdale

eighteenth-century precedents for the crisis of the model of perception represented by the camera obscura. This shift would be better explained in terms of different 'structures of feeling'.<sup>24</sup> When 'the broader social field' is taken into account and the interface of vision and visibility is considered, alternatives to Cartesian occularcentrism appear in the form of 'visual subcultures' characterised by a re-embodiment of vision.<sup>25</sup>

Craftsmen working with dyes and tinted fabrics knew from experience that colours could not be separated by the eye. Imitation, artifice and nature also played a prominent role in the articulation of the 'artisanal epistemology' that accompanied the scientific revolution.<sup>26</sup> The role that craftsmen, technicians and scientists working in the royal factories played in the process of production of tapestries after Goya's cartoons will be another element to consider. When transferred to a different medium, the designs supplied by court painters like Goya entered a realm over which they did not have much control. The traditional division between 'invention' and 'practice' could seem to have deepened. The reality is that painters like Goya and Paret assimilated the technical part of the production and reproduction of their works as yet another aspect of their invention.

In the last chapter, I consider the 'experimental' interest in new printing techniques noticeable in Spain since the late 1770s. Spanish painters experimenting

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(see Langdale, A. 'Aspects of the Critical Reception and Intellectual History of Baxandall's Concept of the Period Eye', in *Art History*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1998, pp. 479-497).

<sup>24</sup> . The connection between alternative models of visibility and coexisting 'structures of feeling' in the sense in which Raymond Williams defined this concept has been proposed by Nicholas Mirzoeff (Mirzoeff, N. 'On Visibility' in *Journal of Visual Culture*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2006, p. 54). See also Williams, R. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 131-132.

<sup>25</sup> . Jay, op. cit., 1988, pp. 3-23. Following Jay, Mirzoeff refers to the possibility of competing visibilities as 'visual subcultures' (op. cit., p. 54).

with mezzotint, stipple and aquatint were trying to reproduce in a different medium the formal qualities perceived as characteristic of the Spanish school of painting. Methods to obtain colour prints were adopted with the same aim, since the primacy of colour over drawing was regarded as one of the defining features of the national tradition. The adoption of these new techniques, mostly imported from Britain, became one of the means to market the 'natural' style at home and abroad. The images thus produced and reproduced added their easy circulation within the marketplace to the negative connotations of delusive imitation and surface effects that they already possessed. Compared with the sober engravings favoured by the Academy of San Fernando, these prints could be produced and circulated in larger amounts, were cheaper and fashionable.

The suitability of imported printing techniques to reproduce images in colour explains their use in the production of images intended for optical shows, where they would be consumed by a heterogeneous audience. Public spectacles based on the combination of prints and optical devices show how the equation of vision and consumption can shape the public sphere. This equation has adopted nowadays the form of an 'intimate symbiosis between the market and the media' that, according to Frederic Jameson, prompts 'another type of consumption: consumption of the very process of consumption'.<sup>27</sup> In late eighteenth-century Spain, the images that became the object of this kind of consumption were often genre scenes with 'popular' types and subjects. My argument thus reverts to the problem of the representation of 'the people' outlined in the first chapter. It was in the marketplace, and not in (or from)

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<sup>26</sup> . Smith, P. *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University Press, 2004, p. 8.



the royal chambers, where social relations and identities were established and negotiated. There are reasons to believe that the producers and consumers of visual culture in the period under discussion engaged in those debates and profited from their ambiguities. The reorganisation of the field of vision was part of the same process by means of which their own position within society was defined.

The totalizing nature of 'market ideology' in late capitalism renders a return to earlier stages in the formation of the physical and metaphorical space of the marketplace a productive exercise. This thesis is mainly concerned with the study of what Chartier describes as the 'conflicts (or negotiations) among groups as struggles among representations in which the stakes are always the capacity of the groups or the individuals to ensure recognition of their identity'.<sup>28</sup> It focuses on the mechanisms by which means 'collective representations' are produced, but also on the multiplicity of uses to which they can be put to.<sup>29</sup> The underlying premise of the following five chapters is that representation cannot be inflicted upon any group or individual without being contested and modified.

In E. P. Thompson's analysis of eighteenth-century Britain, 'popular action' often functioned as a 'counter-theatre' in which the rulers' theatrical assertion of hegemony prompted an assertion equally theatrical from the crowd.<sup>30</sup> The emphasis is therefore laid on the dynamic of processes and on the 'relation between the discourse of knowledge and the body social that produced that discourse and in

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<sup>27</sup> . Jameson, F. *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1991, p. 275. See also G. Ritzer's introduction to Baudrillard, J. *The Consumer Society. Myths and Structures*. London: Sage, 1998, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> . Chartier, op. cit., 1997, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> . On the notion of 'collective representation', see Chartier, R. *Cultural History. Between Practices and Representations*. London: Polity Press, 1988.

which it was inscribed'.<sup>31</sup> Far from hindering this research, the ambiguities and idiosyncrasies that characterize the emergence of a commercial society in late eighteenth-century Spain should facilitate it. Those ambiguities made possible the existence of the margins of freedom in which representations of 'the people' were negotiated.

My interest in consumption as a subject of inquiry has been prompted by the relation of this topic to questions of alienation, citizenship and personal freedom in contemporary debates.<sup>32</sup> When McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb published *The Birth of A Consumer Society* in 1982, discussions on consumption focused on locating the origins of Western consumer culture and establishing the parameters by which it could be defined.<sup>33</sup> Controversy in the analysis of consumer behaviour would arise between those who emphasised the role of social emulation and those who approached consumption in the context of the definition of individual or group identities.<sup>34</sup> Yet the legitimacy of consumption as an object of research was not questioned as overly as it is now.

Studies on consumption have been recently called into question as adopting a position either celebratory or defeatist with regard to their object. Consumption and the fetishism of commodity culture are often presented as synonymous with

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<sup>30</sup> . Thompson, E. P. *Customs in Common. Studies in Traditional Popular Culture*. New York: The New Press, 1993, p. 67.

<sup>31</sup> . Chartier, op. cit., 1988, p. 46.

<sup>32</sup> . See Eagleton on consumerism, Eagleton, T. *Ideology. An Introduction*. London: Verso, 1991, pp. 37-39.

<sup>33</sup> . McKendrick, N., Brewer, J. and Plumb, J.H. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. London: Europa, 1982.

<sup>34</sup> . Campbell, C. 'Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth-century England', in Brewer, J. and Porter, R., eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 40-57.

alienation and passivity.<sup>35</sup> These assumptions can be revised when considering consumers / spectators as producers of meaning. This is the approach adopted by Daniel Miller in his examination of the ways in which agency can be preserved by means of 'appropriation', or the active construction of meaning.<sup>36</sup> Chartier also refers to 'consumption' in this sense when he asserts that 'technologies of surveillance and inculcation must... compromise with tactics of consumption and utilization on the part of the men and women whom they have the task of shaping'.<sup>37</sup>

With the emergence of consumerism, the Spain where Goya worked was going through one of those 'critical moments' in which 'the relation between vision and subjectivity can be dramatically changed'.<sup>38</sup> These words, applied by Kevin Robins to the present day, refer to the extraordinary development of 'new forms of technological vision and new forms of observation' within the last few decades. Their omnipresence is only rivalled by the similar prominence of new forms of consumption. The status of the individual as citizen has become somewhat eclipsed by the public dimension of his or her role as consumer / spectator. Hence a better knowledge of the mechanisms that determine the relations of power established within the field of vision is needed. The exploration of the margins for individual freedom within given systems of representation will open that field to what should be a state of productive instability.

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<sup>35</sup> . Daunton, M. and Hilton, M. 'Material Politics: An Introduction', in *The Politics of Consumption. Material Culture and Citizenship*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001, p. 18.

<sup>36</sup> . Miller, D. 'Consumption and Commodities', in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 24, 1995, p. 146.

<sup>37</sup> . Chartier, op. cit., 1988, p. 41.

<sup>38</sup> . Robins, K. *Into the Image. Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision*. London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 164-168.

## Chapter 1. Representing ‘the people’ in late eighteenth-century Spain

### 1. The People on the margins

#### *The Esquilache riots*

In 1766, a series of revolts through Spain alerted the government about the necessity to revise their knowledge of those to whom their reforming projects were addressed. Knowing ‘the people’ became one of the main aims of Spanish *ilustrados*. When assessing public disorders, local and central authorities agreed on the difficulty in determining the social class to which the promoters of the revolts belonged. Depending on the account, they were noblemen disguised as working men or unknown, threatening outsiders who hid their faces.<sup>39</sup> The latter could be further characterized as members of the ‘populace’ who remained outside the system, thus posing a constant menace because of their resistance to classification. Their nomadic habits, as well as their lack of identity, occupation or address, evidenced the existence of a floating population that escaped the ruler’s gaze.

In 1773, Charles III gave new directions to the painters associated with the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Bárbara in Madrid. The king wished them to stop supplying the weavers with idealized pastoral subjects and to paint ‘merry and

pleasant' scenes of 'national popular pastimes' instead.<sup>40</sup> Truthfulness to the 'national' character of types and costumes was therefore one of the main requirements. As a result, during the following decades the factory produced a number of tapestries whose protagonists were the people of Spain represented in either urban or suburban settings, where the early symptoms of an emerging 'proto-commercial' society could be detected.

The discursive spaces of the street, the outskirts of the town where the fair takes place and the market become the site where relations between the 'high' and the 'low' are negotiated.<sup>41</sup> These are the settings of Goya's second and third series for the tapestry factory, produced between 1776 and 1786 before his appointment as a court painter. In this chapter, the formation of the image of the people will be analyzed as determined by the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, of simultaneous demonization and picturesque idealization operative within the unstable borders of its spaces of assembly.

How could a potentially rebellious people be represented as harmless? The construction of the people as 'picturesque' in late eighteenth century Spain can be considered as a process in which the 1766 revolts constitute a decisive turning point. The uprising evidenced a lack of knowledge of the population that came to be regarded as problematic by the authorities in this moment only. The elusiveness of the people involved, as well as the difficulties encountered by contemporary

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<sup>39</sup> . Andrés Gallego, J. *El Motín de Esquilache. Europa y América*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2003, pp. 310 – 311.

<sup>40</sup> . Tomlinson, J. *Francisco Goya: The Tapestry Cartoons and Early Career at the Court of Madrid*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

<sup>41</sup> . Stallybrass, P. and White, A. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986.

commentators to offer a consistent explanation of the events, can account for the fact that no images of the revolts have been preserved. However, the lasting impression that they had in the collective imaginary was evinced on the eve of Charles IV's abdication in 1808. When the people gathered in Aranjuez and asked to see the king, the 1766 precedent was evoked.<sup>42</sup> These scenes had strongly affected Charles III, as Joseph Townsend noticed in 1786:

To [Esquilache] the people of Madrid are indebted... because he made them lay aside their *capa* and slouched hats, by which both their persons and their purposes had been effectually [*sic*] concealed. This innovation, however excellent, this violence offered to deep rooted prejudices, excited indignation; and being accompanied by an accidental scarcity of corn, raised a storm which nothing but his disgrace was able to allay. The sovereign himself felt the shock upon his throne, and fled with his favourite, but he was soon prevailed upon to return, and to show himself to his enraged people from the balcony.<sup>43</sup>

This was how ('prejudiced', 'enraged') the people became visible in the streets of a number of Spanish towns in 1766. How was this riotous image neutralized so that they could be rendered acceptable to 'enter' the royal chambers? Goya's early tapestry cartoons were commissioned by Charles III and subject to his approval.<sup>44</sup> The construction of 'the people' in these works contributed to a system of representation which assimilated some of the concerns of the surveying policy of the *ilustrados*. The forms of surveillance deployed in contemporary medical and economic discourses targeted not only the population, but also the way they were

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<sup>42</sup> . *Diario exacto, o Relación circunstanciada de lo acaecido en el Real Sitio de Aranjuez y Corte de Madrid, de resultas de haber creído el pueblo que SS. MM. querían dexar la Capital...* Córdoba, 1808.

<sup>43</sup> . Townsend, J. *A journey through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787*. London, 1791, vol. 2, pp. 193-194.

<sup>44</sup> . Herrero Carretero, C. 'An Introduction to Goya's Cartoons and Tapestries', in Tomlinson, J., ed. *Goya. Images of Women*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. 96.

perceived and represented. The modes of resistance contained within the same discourses will be also considered.

Stallybrass's and White's argument on the relation between the 'socially peripheral' and the 'symbolically central' can help to analyse Goya's proposed solution to the representation of the people in his tapestry cartoons.<sup>45</sup> The 1766 revolts invested the fair, the marketplace, the street and the square with uneasy connotations. This was, however, Goya's chosen scenery for the 'merry and pleasant' images of 'popular entertainment' commissioned by Charles III to decorate the his suburban palaces. According to Stallybrass and White, the articulation of the public sphere results from the struggle to control such 'significant sites of assembly and spaces of discourse'.<sup>46</sup> Goya's cartoons show how this conflict is also enacted within the fields of vision and representation. In the series, like at the fair, 'the observer... is also a potential participant'.<sup>47</sup>

Throughout the sequence established in the cartoons, concerns with a performative notion of spectatorship pervade. Almost all of them include at least one figure that stares back at the viewer, thus exploring the expressive possibilities of the 'theatricality' learnt from Tiepolo.<sup>48</sup> Even when the characters are absorbed in their roles and occupations, the presence of spectators in the background creates a sense of theatrical performance. Rendering the staging of the gaze obvious appears as another

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<sup>45</sup> . Stallybrass and White, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> . Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>47</sup> . Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>48</sup> . Christiansen, K. 'Tiepolo, Theatre, and the Notion of Theatricality', in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 81, no. 4, 1999, pp. 665-692. See also Fried, M. *Absorption and Theatricality: painting and beholder in the age of Diderot*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

means to question those mechanisms of surveillance whose effectiveness is based on the assumption of the object's unawareness.

The reality of the 1766 revolts was probably far from the paranoid tone that pervaded official reports. Most rioters belonged to the mass of urban workers displaced by the constant readjustments of Spanish economy. As a result of the mutiny, their belonging to 'the people' was first contested and ultimately denied. 'The people' as a classifying category was redefined in terms of exclusion. It became an object of knowledge that could simultaneously function as the means of controlling the population.

The Esquilache mutiny did not produce specific imagery, probably because the censorship exercised by the Inquisition was also inflicted upon prints whose political content could be controversial.<sup>49</sup> The documents concerning the revolts refer to numerous 'pamphlets, satires and defamatory libels' spread all over the country. Most of them seem to be popular songs and verses preserved among Campomanes's private papers and in the National Library in Madrid.<sup>50</sup> These contemporary accounts suggest the appearance of a twofold problem of representation. Due to the vagueness with which their motivations were accounted for, the people involved could be neither vilified, nor idealized. The political side of the problem can be deduced from the official documents that tried to determine who represented the people and whether (or in which circumstances) they could represent themselves.

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<sup>49</sup> . Carrete Parrondo, J. 'Les estampes hétérodoxes en Espagne au XVIIIe et au début du XIXe siècle', in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. 96, no. 1342, 1980, p. 122.



Another aspect of the problem concerned the visual representation of the urban crowd, which required its previous definition, its delimitation and the clarification of the questions posed by the Bourbon administration: were the people who took over the streets of Madrid exactly the same as ‘the people’ or the ‘general state’ of the population? Were those who voiced their protests entitled to do so? Did the people retain any agency or were they manipulated from above? In order to be represented, the people had to be previously defined and classified. The riots provided the basis for a way of imagining the Spanish population that would derive into lasting stereotypes. But they also raised questions of agency that suggest the possibility of resistance, unavailability or indifference to the spectator’s gaze and, hence, to his or her attempts at controlling representation.

How did the definition of the people become a pressing issue? ‘The people’ can be considered as a construct resulting from a process of selection and exclusion effected through the combined discourses of enlightened medicine, public policy and the survey of the population in the census. Knowledge of the ‘body public’ was instrumental ‘in efforts at reform of a variety of practices and institutions –for example, the reform of theatre’ promoted by Jovellanos.<sup>51</sup> In 1766, the image of ‘the people’ as the weakest part of the family-state whose head was the king functioned as one of the available strategies to justify their submission to a knowing elite.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> . Campomanes’s archives belong to the Fundación Universitaria Española. Satirical manuscripts on the Count of Floridablanca, formerly owned by Campomanes, are held at the Biblioteca Nacional under the signature Mss/11349.

<sup>51</sup> . Haidt, R. *Embodying Enlightenment. Knowing the Body in Eighteenth-century Spanish literature and culture*. Basingtoke: Macmillan, 1998, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> . On the Spanish ‘new elite’, see Cruz, J. *Gentlemen, bourgeois, and revolutionaries: political change and cultural persistence among the Spanish dominant groups 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 5-8. See also Sarrailh, J. *L’Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954 (I have used the revised edition translated into Spanish in 1979: Sarrailh, J. *La España Ilustrada de la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII*, transl. Antonio Alatorre. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1979).

Popular uprisings provided their members with the opportunity to assert the difference between the 'rabble' (*el vulgo*), 'the People' and 'the Public'. The 'army of vagabonds' and the 'despicable unworthy people without domicile, absolutely lost and abandoned' who committed excesses like the killing of the German guards of the king had nothing to do with the 'respectable body of the People' sanctioned by the official authorities.<sup>53</sup>

Contemporary accounts of the conflict evidence how definitions of the people from above identify those who utter them in an indirect way.<sup>54</sup> Thus, 'reactionary' writers praised 'the people' who opposed the foreign minister's intrusion in their customary rights and freedoms. On the other hand, 'enlightened' authors dwelt upon what they regarded as the people's regrettable ignorance, which justified their assuming the virtuous task of leading that 'body without a head' to happiness and prosperity.<sup>55</sup> Both positions exemplify what was ultimately a problem of political representation.<sup>56</sup> In their collective condemnation of the revolts, the titled noblemen of Madrid specifically rejected those concessions made by the king under the pressure of the crowd's threats, since 'a popular crowd cannot possibly usurp any form of representation'.<sup>57</sup> Their writing continues stating the uselessness of such claims when the people were already represented (in all senses) by the nobility.

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<sup>53</sup> . Macías Delgado, J. *El Motín de Esquilache a la luz de los documentos*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1988.

<sup>54</sup> . For contemporary accounts of the mutiny, see Andrés Gallego.

<sup>55</sup> . Helman, E. F. 'Moratín y Goya: actitudes ante el pueblo en la Ilustración Española', in *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid*, vol. 9, nº 35, 1965, pp. 591-605.

<sup>56</sup> . For a study of popular participation in city riots before 1789 that refers to the Esquilache mutiny, see Rudé, G. *The Face of the Crowd. Studies in Revolution, Ideology and Popular Protest*, ed. Harvey J. Kaye. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988, pp. 192-194.

<sup>57</sup> . 'Los aristócratas... recordaron que *ninguna representación podía usurparse una popular muchedumbre...* porque eran ellos –la nobleza– quienes *representaban*' (Andrés Gallego, op. cit., p. 310). All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

The position of the Madrid aristocrats was supported by the Five Guilds of Madrid (*Compañía de los Cinco Gremios*). Its members were mostly tradesmen belonging to the third state who tried to distinguish themselves from the disordered 'people'. What they termed 'the plebe or the crowd' were denied not only any role as 'a representative body', but also any entity within the population. The guilds concluded that any group other than 'honest neighbours, members of mayor and minor guilds, members of the council and members of the nobility' did not deserve being taken notice of.<sup>58</sup>

The council of magistrates that considered the case of the legality of any measure taken under the pressure of the mutiny defined its object as the examination of who represented the people of Madrid during the four days of the revolts. They finally decided that 'the extraordinary gathering of people' in the streets could not hold any form of 'public representation'.<sup>59</sup> The town council, the nobility and both the major and minor guilds defended their claims to representation against that 'chimerical and uncertain body' that 'usurped' the popular voice.<sup>60</sup> The measures granted by the king were declared ineffective and a coach-driver, a guitarist and a baker were convicted as the leaders of the crowd that had demanded bread in the streets only to be 'screened out' in paper.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> . 'La plebe o el gentío... *ni por su calidad forma Cuerpo de Representación*, ni destituido de los honrados vecinos, Gremios Mayores y Menores, Ayuntamiento, y Nobleza, puede merecer aprecio' (cited in Andrés Gallego, op. cit., p. 311).

<sup>59</sup> . *Real Provisión de los Señores del Consejo, en que a instancia de la Nobleza, Villa y Gremios de Madrid, en quienes se halla refundida la voz comun, se desaprueban las pretensiones introducidas sin legitima personalidad en los bullicios pasados, y declaran por nulas é ineficaces, como opuestas á las leyes, y constitucion del Estado*. Madrid, 1766, fol. 49 r.

<sup>60</sup> . Ibid., fol. 49 v.

<sup>61</sup> . Andrés Gallego, op. cit., p. 33.

The 1766 riots spread from Madrid throughout the country. Goya witnessed the outburst caused in Zaragoza by the rise in the price of the bread that year, just before the painter left to Madrid 'in a hurry'.<sup>62</sup> The mutiny also adopted a different aspect in other places on the periphery, such as the Basque provinces. The opposition to Charles III's minister became the catalyst for getting larger parts of the population involved in popular protests concerning existing local conflicts, as studied by Andrés-Gallego.<sup>63</sup> This local aspect is only one among a number of topics appearing insistently in contemporary accounts of the upheavals. The subversive use of popular costumes, the role of women, the difficulties to define the mutinous crowd and their alleged manipulation were some of the questions posed by external observers and addressed by Goya in his cartoons.

In Goya's cartoon *A Walk in Andalucía* (1777), two men are represented wearing the costume forbidden twelve years before, thus wrapped in long cloaks with their faces hidden under their round hats (fig. 1). Most of the tapestries belonging to the early series of cartoons are well documented, since they were paid for separately and Goya himself wrote a short description of each on the invoices.<sup>64</sup> The painter describes minutely the costume of one of the men, identified as 'a droll figure... seated on the ground, wrapped in a cape and wearing a circular hat, scarlet breeches with gold buttons, and stockings and shoes to match'.<sup>65</sup> Goya's reference to Andalucía as the setting of this scene might intend to remove the potential

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<sup>62</sup> . *Relacion verdadera y circunstanciada de todo lo acaecido en la ciudad de Zaragoza, desde primero de Abril de este año de 1766 hasta 15 del mismo, sacada de Cartas, y Relaciones embiadas à Madrid à Personas de dignidad y respeto*. Madrid, 1766. See also Symmons, S. ed. *Goya. A life in letters*. London: Pimlico, 2004, doc. 4, p. 61. A painting of the Esquilache mutiny in a private collection has been attributed to Goya, though it is likely to be a nineteenth-century work imitating his manner (see Gassier, P. and Wilson, J. *Goya: his life and work, with a catalogue raisonné of the paintings, drawings and engravings*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971, cat. no. 17, p. 81).

<sup>63</sup> . Andrés Gallego, op. cit.

<sup>64</sup> . Sambricio, V. *Tapices de Goya*. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1946.

association of this image with the revolt since, after the riots, the application of the royal decree was restricted to the court. But men wrapped in long cloaks are common in the margins and in the backgrounds of virtually every cartoon, despite the fact that Esquilache's decree was reissued shortly after his dismissal.

The invoices containing Goya's own descriptions of his designs refer to the presence of 'capas and hats', even when their role within the composition would seem unimportant. Among the *majos* and *majas* dancing, his cartoon *Dance on the banks of the Manzanares* shows, following Goya's account, 'a soldier and a *maja* in conversation... In the foreground, on the ground, various capes and hats, and in the distance one sees part of Madrid...' (fig. 2).<sup>65</sup> The inclusion of the town seen in distance prevents the idyllic tone in these apparently rural scenes. *Majos* and *majas* are essentially urban types, as well as the orange sellers and soldiers who approach the groups. The backgrounds of a number of cartoons show construction works, whose increase during this period was often remarked in contemporary writings. They were usually mentioned in connection with the Bourbon projects of urban regeneration and public policy.

Goya's cartoons for the royal palaces are populated with those types that become protagonists in the narrative of the Esquilache riots. Goya's brazen *majas* are the women of the people whose behaviour was described as 'worse than the men's' in the anonymous *Noticias acaecidas en Madrid desde el Domingo 23 de Marzo hasta el 26 del mismo*.<sup>66</sup> They complained mainly about the lack of bread and the excessive prices of basic products, more than against the change of costume or

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<sup>65</sup> . Invoice from Goya to Sabatini, dated 12 August 1777 (Symmons, op. cit., 2004, doc. 30, p. 77).

<sup>66</sup> . Ibid.

against the presence of foreigners among the king's ministers. Women carrying palms and banners were reported as leaders of the groups that showed an unusual degree of violence in their acts and words. Goya also identifies some of his characters as gypsies, despite the fact that they were pointedly blamed for all sorts of disorders in the Esquilache reports: '*Majas*, gypsies and every kind of rabble' usually appear mentioned together when debating the aftermath of the riots.<sup>68</sup>

Most groups represented by Goya became the subjects of either royal decrees or of royal orders in different moments during the 1770s and 1780s. In September 1783, Charles III published a pragmatic sanction 'addressed to the correction and reform of those ordinarily called Gypsies, and of whatever other idle people wandering outside inhabited areas forming groups'.<sup>69</sup> The law specified that its target were not 'those ordinarily called Gypsies', but their nomadic way of life beyond the reach of the church or Bourbon institutions. It therefore recommended their subjection to 'moral and religious instruction' and, especially, the suppression of the term 'gypsy' as a means of defining the group:

Especial care will be taken that the word 'gypsy' will not be applied to such people any more, since those are not their origins and they are not affected by any infection that might be damaging...; and for this same reason the name of Gypsies must be erased and forgotten, so that they will live devoted to honest occupations and become respectable members of the general third estate, without distinction.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> . Andrés Gallego, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> . Ibid., p. 457.

<sup>69</sup> . Pragmática sanción 'dirigida á la enmienda y reforma de los vulgarmente llamados Gitanos, y de qualesquiera otros vagos que anduvieren por despoblados en quadrillas con riesgo ó presuncion de ser salteadores ó contrabandistas' (*Pragmática sanción que S. M. se ha dignado de mandar publicar dirigida á la enmienda y reforma de los llamados vulgarmente Gitanos*. Madrid, 1783).

‘Erased’ and ‘forgotten’ are the key words in these regulations aimed at ‘reforming’ minorities identifiable as such within the generality of the people. Naming is ultimately another form of representation that denies difference in order to render the people heterogeneous. It is the visibility that they acquire within the discursive space of the fair and the marketplace that turns these ‘plebeian fair-goers’ into ‘part of the spectacle for the bourgeois observer’.<sup>71</sup> Scattered among the stalls and dressed in bright colours, the ‘disobedient and rebellious subjects’ become identified, hence neutralized, as ‘official objects of display’ similar to the commodities on sale.<sup>72</sup>

The unstable nature of the marketplace renders any strategy of control precarious. A plurality of forms of consumption and visuality develop within this physical and metaphorical space. Consumption thus appears as the appropriation not only of the objects on display, but also of their meanings. In this sense, it becomes synonymous with ‘utilization’, understood as the tactics enabling the people whose behaviour is meant to shape to resist ‘technologies of surveillance and inoculation’.<sup>73</sup> Thus, in *The Blind Guitarist* (1778), Goya’s protagonist is a blind storyteller, whose discourse is produced orally in collaboration with his audience (fig. 3). The street-singer exemplifies a form of non-policed public entertainment disapproved by officers like the magistrate Meléndez Valdés because of its idealisation of outlaws, such as smugglers and bandits. Goya describes the group gathered around the singer in his invoice dated in May 1778:

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<sup>70</sup> . Appendix 6a.

<sup>71</sup> . Stallybrass and White, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>72</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> . Chartier, op. cit., 1988, p. 41.

Representing a Blind Guitarist and his guide, with fourteen people listening, including two women, a foreigner, a negro waterseller, a baker, and others wrapped in cloaks; before the group are two boys seated on the ground listening. Farther back, a Murcian with two oxen and cart, and on the other side a large group, among which is a melon-seller. In the background, a street with houses and a building being erected; a cloudy sky.<sup>74</sup>

This mixed crowd is assembled not in an abstract space, but in a specific location in Madrid, identified as the marketplace of the Plaza de la Cebada. Goya's references to cloaks and hats, but also to a guitarist, a baker and a cart-driver, could be easily associated with the 1766 revolts and with the occupations of its presumed leaders. The people appear here as lawful and engaged in a harmless, if not exactly virtuous, activity, presented to the king's gaze under the decorous guise of the 'picturesque'. The suggestion of their 'rebellious' nature overlaps with the problem of representation posed by the sites chosen by Goya to stage his scenes of popular entertainment. The street, the fair, the marketplace and the outskirts of Madrid where the borders between town and countryside are blurred become 'modes of discursive production' within which group identities (like that of 'the people') can be constructed.

*The Blind Guitarist* provides an example of how the process by means of which 'the people' are constructed operates not only within the field of vision, but also within representation. Stallybrass and White establish a direct relationship between the enthusiastic response of the people to 'popular' songs idealising outlaws and their 'defiance' towards the 'gentlemen standing among them in the audience', here exemplified by the man in the yellow coat on the right.<sup>75</sup> Although the 'popular'

<sup>74</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 2004, pp. 80-81.

<sup>75</sup> . Stallybrass and White, op. cit., pp. 43, 196.



character of these songs refers more to their consumption than to their production, they contribute to the definition of an audience that creates their own mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. Their shared reaction shows the cohesive effect of the marketplace as an extended metaphor of urban life. This new form of ‘spectacle’ provides its audience with a sense of identity by merging the figure of the spectator with that of the performer.

*‘Manolos y Verduleras’: strategies of self-presentation*

What was the reaction to the disruption of established categories and roles that defied official attempts to name, to define and to classify the people? In 1786, Jovellanos was commissioned by the royal academy of history to write a dissertation on the current state of public entertainment.<sup>76</sup> The reason for the commission was the negative effect that authorities attributed to contemporary theatre and popular street shows on an undefined audience, whose heterogeneity was perceived as increasingly menacing. Anonymity was the main strength of the crowd. Therefore, the purpose of public officials when planning new policies was the division and definition of its components. According to Jovellanos’s classification, only ‘the people who do not need to work’ should have access to theatre and other forms of entertainment dependent on the ambiguous separation of reality and illusion.

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<sup>76</sup> . Jovellanos, G. M. *Memoria sobre las diversiones públicas... leída en junta pública de la Real Academia de la Historia el 11 de Julio de 1796*. Madrid, 1807.

The shift of attention from the stage to the audience was also apparent in a review of Jean-François Marmontel's works published in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in 1788. When referring to the structure of the theatre, the author focused on the 'patio' and tried to classify the audience who occupied this specific space:

The pit is usually occupied by the less wealthy and less refined among the citizens, by those who are less enlightened but endowed with more common sense. Given that their natural character has been less altered, they remain less influenced by the whims of fashion or by the concerns created by vanity and education. As a result, their taste is less delicate, but more assured than that of other people whose judgements are always fictitious and imitative... the pit is constituted not only by the so-called 'People': some among this crowd of uneducated men are actually very enlightened. The judgement of this small group informs that of the crowd, who do not feel humiliated by learning from their lessons, whereas in the upper boxes, anyone believes himself knowledgeable and only trusts his own judgement.<sup>77</sup>

One of the main causes of concern for Jovellanos was the lack of a neat distinction between popular actors and their characters, to the point that they seemed to represent themselves on stage. This characteristic was associated with a Spanish tradition of realism based not on truthfulness to nature, but on the search for extreme illusion. After assessing the current state of national theatre, Jovellanos regretted that 'other countries bring *gods* and *nymphs* to dance on stage, we have *manolos* and *verduleras*'.<sup>78</sup> The performances of working men or '*manolos*' and of market women or '*verduleras*' were regarded by Jovellanos as mirroring the audience that they

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<sup>77</sup> . 'El patio se compone por lo regular de los ciudadanos menos ricos y menos refinados en sus costumbres; de aquellos en quienes por conservar menos alterado su natural, nada influyen las fantasías de la moda, las preocupaciones de la vanidad y de la educación; de aquellos que tienen menos luces, pero mas sentido comun, lo que hace su gusto menos delicado, pero mas seguro que el de otras gentes, cuyo modo de pensar es siempre facticio é imitado... el patio no se compone solo de esto que se llama Pueblo, y entre este monton de hombres sin cultura los hay muy ilustrados. El juicio de este pequeño número es el que forma el de la multitud que no se cree humillada por escuchar sus lecciones en lugar de que en los aposentos cada uno se cree instruido, y pretende guzgar [*sic*] por si mismo' ('Paris. Literatura y comercio. Obras completas de Marmontel', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios que se publican en Europa*, no. 145, 08/09/1788, p. 35).

should edify. In the patronizing view of the *ilustrado*, the blurring of the ever-unstable border between reality and representation becomes dangerous when offered to an audience unskilled in the mechanics of staged delusion. The same assumption underlies the article on the ennobling of commerce that appeared in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in September 1788:

The spectacle of market towns in the kingdom is a spectacle of illusion similar to a perspective view by Servandoni, which can only dazzle the sight of those who cannot see further. A superficial eye makes mistakes when it looks at these bright perspectives.<sup>79</sup>

Like Jovellanos's writings on popular spectacles, the review of Marmontel's works suggests a widespread interest in the formation of an audience or a public. Although linked to the 1766 street revolts, this concern was also prompted by other reasons. Knowledge of the population and of its behaviour as consumers / spectators could be conducive to economic prosperity, as Valentín de Foronda wrote with respect to the promotion of trade and manufactures in 1788. Foronda, who belonged to the Sociedad Bascongada in the early 1780s, was an anglophile and a decided defender of free trade. He deplored state interference and considered that the only law to which commerce would obey was the 'caprice and fantasy' of the consumers:

It is impossible that a product can subsist for fifty years, since the aim of manufactures is to satisfy and to excite the consumer's taste. Taste is variable and dependent on caprice and on fancy, which are most arbitrary and inconstant. But they are also the only mechanisms that stimulate and nourish industry, which provides occupation for so many arms and moves all the

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<sup>78</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1796, p. 421 (appendix 7a).

<sup>79</sup> . 'El espectáculo que se ofrece de las ciudades comerciantes del Reyno es un espectáculo de ilusion como una perspectiva de Servandoni, que solo deslumbra á la vista de aquellos que no saben penetrar. Una vista superficial se equivoca cuando mira algunas perspectivas brillantes' ('El comercio ennoblecido. Continuacion', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 146, 15/09/1788, p. 57).

machinery of trade. Hence there cannot be a law more fixed and immutable on this matter.<sup>80</sup>

Unlike other commentators, Foronda did not give his opinion on the close connection between taste and fashion. He recommended that the statesman be aware of the ineffectiveness of any attempt to legislate in this area. Foronda recognised that 'while it is useful for a State to work on perfecting its products, producing works of an average or even of a poor quality is not less profitable, as long as their cheapness attracts and fosters consumption'.<sup>81</sup> In his opinion, the manufacturer should not follow any given principle or rule other than 'to flatter and to take into account the consumer's taste for goods of any kind and at any price'.<sup>82</sup> Foronda's pragmatic approach to the mechanics of production and consumption strongly opposed the interventionist policy of the Bourbon administration and the protectionism exemplified by the royal manufactures.

In contrast with Foronda's views on the formation of taste and public opinion, Jovellanos's strictures on popular entertainment relied on the possibility for the government to exert some influence on the people. Jovellanos's 'manolos' and 'verduleras' were both the protagonists and the spectators of successful short theatre plays or *sainetes*. The 'realism' of these pieces almost completely blurred the

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<sup>80</sup> . 'Es imposible que pueda [un producto] subsistir cinquenta años siendo el destino de las manufacturas satisfacer y excitar el gusto de los consumidores; y como este gusto es variable, como depende de la cosa mas arbitraria e inconstante, esto es, del capricho y de la fantasia, unicos resortes que animan y alimentan la industria, que ocupan tantos brazos, y que mueven toda la máquina del comercio, se sigue que no puede haber una ley fixa é inmutable sobre esta materia' ('Bergara' [letter from Foronda on the guilds], in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 159, 15/12/1788, p. 67).

<sup>81</sup> . 'Si es util á un Estado trabajar cosas perfectas, no le es menos ventajoso medianas y aun malas, con tal que la baratez convide y provoque su consumo' (ibid., p. 68).

<sup>82</sup> . 'El fabricante no debe tener otra regla sino lisonjear y consultar el gusto del comprador por mercaderías de todas las clases y de todos los precios' (ibid., p. 68).

distinction between the stage and the pit.<sup>83</sup> This image of ‘the people’ became the subject of collections of prints, like those produced by Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla. His depiction of marginal types has been remarked as scarcely compliant with the enlightened aims of ‘the authorities of Madrid, the count of Floridablanca or Jovellanos himself’.<sup>84</sup>

A similar contradiction can be noticed in Goya’s contemporary tapestry cartoons. Paradoxical as it may appear, his proposals for the decoration of the royal palaces show the people disobeying, almost systematically, most of the royal decrees concerning public policy issued in the 1760s-1780s. Bozal mentions, for instance, the royal decrees concerning tobacco smugglers (first in 1761, followed by royal orders in 1781, 1782 and 1789).<sup>85</sup> Tobacco guards are represented in one of the cartoons for the antechamber of the Prince heir in El Pardo (fig. 6). The difficulty to distinguish the guards from the smugglers in preparatory sketches has often been observed and it probably led Goya to add the inscription ‘Tobacco guard’ in the final version. This precaution taken, the guard remains as defiant and threatening as the smuggler, confronting the viewer while keeping his hands on his hips.

Like the incipient argument already described in *A Walk in Andalucía*, the *Brawl at the door of an Inn* was intended to decorate the dining room of the Princes of Asturias in the palace of El Pardo (figs. 8 - 9). Regulations against gambling were issued by the minister Esquilache in 1764.<sup>86</sup> The decree associated card games with

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<sup>83</sup> . Carrete, J., De Diego, E. and Vega, J. *Catálogo del Gabinete de Estampas del Museo Municipal de Madrid*. Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1985.

<sup>84</sup> . Bozal, op. cit., 1982, p. 23.

<sup>85</sup> . Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>86</sup> . ‘Don Carlos, por la gracia de Dios...’ (Decree confirming a resolution of Ferdinand VI prohibiting gambling, dated 18 December 1764. Copy in the British Library, shelfmark RB.31.c.51(9).

fraud and deceit as the cause of public disorder, referring specifically to recent incidents ‘in the inns of Madrid’.<sup>87</sup> Goya’s representation of popular misbehaviour and disregard for the law shows a group of coach drivers, muleteers and journeymen involved in a fight. On the right, the turned table, the coins and the cards suggest the reason for the outburst of violence.

Goya’s series of tapestry cartoons have already been the subject of detailed iconographical studies.<sup>88</sup> The scenes represented in them have been interpreted as allegorical, while traditional repertoires of the seasons and of the temperaments have been identified as their sources. But alternative views on the series are also possible. Most of Goya’s characters would be included within what was defined loosely as ‘the people’ in late eighteenth-century Spain. Like the gypsies and female street-sellers regarded as belonging to the margins of society, ballad-singers, journeymen and smugglers are examples of popular types beyond the control of the authorities. They did not fit neatly within the ‘two classes of people’ distinguished by Jovellanos when analysing the composition of the crowds gathered to enjoy popular entertainments: the ‘working people’ and ‘those who do not need to work’.<sup>89</sup> In most of these paintings, Goya chooses as his protagonists men and women who wander in the urban space of the street and the market.

An outsider, albeit for different reasons, is the ‘foreigner’ mentioned by Goya at least in two of the invoices for the tapestry cartoons. This figure, who also escapes Jovellanos’s classification, is usually dressed in expensive clothes and accompanied

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<sup>87</sup> . ‘... fueron servidos mandar no se permitiesen los nombrados Bancos de Faraón, Lance, Azar, y Baceta, y otros, que se jugaban en las Posadas de la mi Corte...’ (ibid., f. 134 r).

<sup>88</sup> . Mostly by Janis Tomlinson (see Tomlinson, op. cit., 1989).

<sup>89</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1796, p. 398 (appendix 7b).

by *madamas*, or fashionable women. In *The Blind Guitarist*, he is one of the spectators attending the performance of the street-musician. In *The Fair of Madrid*, the foreigner is one of the customers of the antique-seller, thus appearing simultaneously as spectator / consumer engaged in the observation of the goods on display (fig. 8).

The ballad-singer in *The Blind Guitarist* was not a figure approved by the *ilustrados*. Meléndez proposed the banning of ‘vulgar romances and *jácaras*’ or popular songs on the lives and deeds of bandits and smugglers. These instances of what the magistrate describes as ‘pestilent poison’ were not only ‘sang and heard to the unbelievable applause of the ignorant people’, but also offered on sale at ‘the stalls and tents of our most noble Court’.<sup>90</sup> Illustrated with coarse woodcuts, printed on cheap paper and peddled by itinerant singers like the one represented by Goya, these songs exemplified a form of non-virtuous leisure that escaped easily the measures of policy suggested by Meléndez. In *The Blind Guitarist*, the attempts to police the people appear counteracted also because the primacy of the sense of sight is undermined by the importance of telling and listening. The guitarist’s discourse is produced by his interaction with his ‘popular’ audience.

In the tapestry cartoons, Goya’s characters moved uneasily within the margins of the well-policed state foreseen by the *ilustrados*. This is also the case of the water-sellers who enliven the fairs and markets represented in his designs. Around 1775, Campomanes’s *Discourse on the Popular Education of Craftsmen*

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<sup>90</sup> . Meléndez Valdés, J. A. ‘Discurso sobre la necesidad de prohibir la impresión y venta de *jácaras* y romances vulgares por dañosos a las costumbres públicas...’, in *Discursos Forenses*, ed. José Esteban. Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1986, p. 103 (first published in 1821, but dated 1790).

referred specifically to this job as the target of ‘mockery and ridiculous jokes’.<sup>91</sup> He deplored that this ‘honest occupation’ that provided ‘three or four hundred families’ with a living did not receive the consideration that it deserved, despite its ‘hardness and scarce profits’. Bent under the weight of the jars of water, the black water-seller represented in *The Blind Guitarist* appears isolated from the main group, with which, however, he shares the role of spectator. As a black man in eighteenth-century Madrid, he might have needed to buy his freedom by means of his work, thus suggesting another form of commodification operating in the marketplace.<sup>92</sup>

In Goya’s cartoons, selling water is the job either of a black man in *The Blind Guitarist* or of a woman in *The Meadow of San Isidro* (fig. 9). In the latter, the harmonious gradation of tints is disrupted by the brightness of the red and yellow dress of the water-seller who appears conspicuous in the foreground at right. In the former, the black water-seller appears similarly highlighted and isolated in the foreground approaching the main group from the right side of the cartoon. Their relation with the general composition indicates that they are neither secondary figures, nor merely picturesque accessories.

How are the people represented in the cartoons? The men and women depicted by Goya wear gold buttons and large shiny buckles or hold sunshades and cigars. They dance and sing but also fight, gamble and get drunk. Their disordered behaviour seems to justify current anxieties about the participation of the ‘popular sort’ in luxury trades and leisure activities that blurred the distinction between

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<sup>91</sup> . Rodríguez de Campomanes, P. *Discurso Sobre la Educación Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento*. Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1775, vol. 5, p. 148 (appendix 5a).



producers and consumers. There is no idealization or ‘picturesqueness’ in the violent argument that provides the subject of *Brawl at the door of an inn*, despite the comic elements. These are the people who sell and buy in markets and fairs, where the red coats of the king’s soldiers appear conspicuous among the crowd (fig. 9a).

More than their novelty, it is the generalization of the forms of exchange and sociability in which they are engaged that prompts the adoption of new forms of surveillance. The threat implicit in Goya’s rendition of the disordered ‘people’ is apparently suppressed in Luis Paret’s almost contemporary depiction of similar scenery and characters in the *Picnic at a country inn* (York, City Art Gallery). Paret’s main figure is a young traveller gracefully seated on the ground (fig. 10). His servant pours wine from a bottle in a glass for him. The bare feet, uncovered head, loose shirt and wide trousers of the latter contrast with the traveller’s buckled shoes, silk tights, broad-brimmed hat, velvet breeches and embroidered coat. Other servants, travellers and spectators gather near the richly decorated carriage waiting in the background and a cart loaded with luggage.

Paret’s picnic proceeds in a most ordered fashion, with its polite protagonist respectfully watched by the rest of the guests. The scene is represented as if the figures were on a theatre stage playing clearly defined roles. At right, a group of four men stand in conversation at the door of the inn. One of them is wrapped in a long cloak, his head and hairnet covered with a broad-rimmed hat. He does not listen to his companions, but stares at the traveller. His attire, similar to that banned from the Court six years earlier, and the policeman on horseback approaching the group

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<sup>92</sup> . *Deseando el piadoso real ánimo....* [a circular abolishing the practice of branding slaves in the Spanish Indies]. Madrid, 1784. See also the decree facilitating the introduction of black slaves into the

suggest that the symptoms of social unrest apparent in Goya's cartoons are not absent from Paret's work either.

In his last series of tapestry cartoons painted between 1786 and 1792, Goya showed different views of the meadow of San Isidro during the annual fair. In the same years, Goya's friend Meléndez Valdés, wrote from his position as a magistrate about the necessity to supervise these popular gatherings:

The magistrate thus considers that the halls [of justice] ought to have recourse to all their prudence in order to preserve the order and the calm these days, but without distrust or ostentation... this also applies to the Prado on Sundays and to the days of bullfighting and large crowds. These measures must be repeated with even more exquisite caution during the big *romería* of St Isidro because of the vast amount of every sorts of people concurring there and of the higher risk of more troubles.<sup>93</sup>

The potentially rebellious people depicted by Goya are under permanent surveillance. The brightness of the red jacket of the water-seller in the foreground that disrupts the uniform white and cream hues of the crowd is echoed by the coats of the two soldiers standing on the right. In 1796, Jovellanos also wrote about popular gatherings such as the *romerías* as an example of pastimes that fostered the common good because of the sense of 'belonging' that participants could derive from it. Jovellanos regretted the inadequate measures of public policy that were commonly adopted by the authorities in these fairs:

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Spanish Indies published 4 Nov. 1784, BL, T. 17\*(22-23).

<sup>93</sup>. 'Y así estima el fiscal que las Salas deben usar de toda su prudencia en velar estos días sobre el orden y la tranquilidad, pero sin desconfianza ni ostentación... que todo esto se haga asimismo en el Prado en los Domingos y días de toros y grandes concurrencias, y se repita aun con mas esquisitas precauciones en la gran *romería* de San Isidro por el inmenso gentío de todo tipo que á ella concurren, y mayor rezelo que con él puede haber de alguna mas grave desazon' (Meléndez Valdés, J. 'Dictamen fiscal en unos espedientes [*sic*] formados á consecuencia de varios alborotos y corridas con ocasion de unas basquiñas moradas', in op. cit., p. 112). See also Tomlinson, op. cit., 1992, p. 81.

Our people gather to enjoy their *romerías*, where they are chased and disturbed by police regulations... the people who get together in the enjoyment of their common pastimes will be always a cohesive and affectionate people... There is no festive day, no gathering, no entertainment, where the people are not intimidated by means of the instruments of power and justice. The public will not enjoy themselves when they are denied the freedom to do so, because among patrols and rounds, *corchetes* and soldiers, pikes and bayonets, freedom becomes timidity and innocent joy vanishes.<sup>94</sup>

Jovellanos's and Meléndez's words suggest the problem of representation that crowds and popular pastimes posed in the 1790s. The necessity to neutralize their association with the riotous people becomes more pressing in scenes to be displayed and seen in a royal palace. However, in Goya's cartoons, the joy of the people can hardly be described as innocent. Instead of relegating disturbing episodes to the background, the overall view of the fair depicted in *The Meadow of San Isidro* is supplemented with cartoons representing a number of partial views of specific pastimes. These three scenes, entitled *The Church of Saint Isidro* (Madrid, Prado), *The Blindman's Buff* (Madrid, Prado) and *The Picnic* (London, National Gallery), thus appear as an attempt at an analytical representation of the crowd.<sup>95</sup>

In *The Picnic*, a tipsy young woman is shown in the company of a group of laughing drunk men (fig. 11). As Tomlinson remarks, despite the apparent gaiety of the scene, there is an implicit sense of threat and disorder.<sup>96</sup> As throughout the rest of the series, Goya does not idealize his subject. Clothes are rumpled, poses are not dignified, gestures are closer to the grin than to the inexpressive smiles of the polite dancers painted by other tapestry designers, such as Francisco Bayeu. This is not the

<sup>94</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1796, pp. 401-403 (appendix 7c).

<sup>95</sup> . Tomlinson, op. cit., 1989, p. 13.

‘innocent joy’ of the pastoral or of the picturesque festivals imagined by Jovellanos. For that reason, the ‘instruments of power and justice’ merged with the crowd under the guise of the soldiers dressed in bright red coats.

The pastimes represented in the cartoons are not the codified, carefully arranged and policed entertainment desired by the *ilustrados*. They are the excessive drinking, gambling, dancing and flirting of people at rest temporarily away from workshops and markets. Theirs is not unscheduled leisure, but the unleashing of everyday tensions during a brief period of relatively controlled license. This idea of the people at rest also pervades scenes of work within the same series, such as *Summer, The Harvest* (1786, Madrid, Museo del Prado). Excessive drinking is again the main motif of merriment (fig. 12). The four men stumbling at left can hardly appear as an example of the ‘deserving’ people. They have often been interpreted as a caricature of the people that might reveal Goya’s critical attitude and his proximity to the view ‘from above’ of contemporary reformers.<sup>97</sup>

Although idealisation is absent, in *The Harvest* the people are represented as engaged within a network of family and social relationships and responsibilities. Beyond the anecdotal character of the episode in the foreground, a woman feeds an infant at left, whereas a young man laughs while playing with a young child who throws his arms round his neck at right. Goya’s harvesting peasants can be compared with those represented by George Stubbs a few years earlier. Stubbs’s *Reapers* and *Haymakers* (fig. 13) were painted in 1783, exhibited in 1785, reproduced in

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<sup>96</sup> . Ibid., pp. 184-185.

<sup>97</sup> . Tomlinson, op. cit., 1992, p. 186.

mezzotints in 1786 and painted on Wedgwood tablets in the 1790s.<sup>98</sup> Could Goya have known these images? They were almost certainly seen by the Spanish ambassador in London, Bernardo del Campo, who was a customer of Wedgwood's.<sup>99</sup> The two young children standing on top of the hay piled on the cart playfully reproduce the attitudes of the two men in the *Haymakers*, painted only the year before. As in Stubbs's work, the figure at right wears a broad-brimmed hat and raises his right arm to hold a wooden fork, whereas his left is folded to clutch the lower part of the handle. The boy at left, however, appears bareheaded and bends towards left holding a harvesting tool.

Goya's sober and dignified depiction of labour is exemplified by the man standing at right piling up haystacks. He is seen from behind, so that all the attention is focused on his activity, as also occurs in Stubbs's painting, where two harvesters appear in a similar attitude. Ornaments, accessories and colourful costumes have been replaced by a white shirt and by dark waistcoat and breeches. Goya represents a journeyman dressed to toil, turning his back on the inquisitive gaze of a court audience. Unlike the marketplace, the harvested fields are not a space shared in equal terms by different social classes, although Tomlinson interprets the building in the background as a reference to the ownership of the land.

The blindmen and gypsies who peopled not only the streets of Madrid, but also Goya's cartoons, became familiar images by means of their reproduction in prints like those produced by Juan de la Cruz. Paret contributed to Cruz's collection

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<sup>98</sup> . Egerton, J. ed. *George Stubbs, 1724-1806*. London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1984.

<sup>99</sup> . For the description of a portable drawing-table purchased for the Prince of Asturias by the ambassador Campo and decorated with medallions by Wedgwood, see AGS, Sección Estado, leg. 8164.

of popular types with some figures (figs. 14, 33). But there is another side to these albums of prints. According to Sarah Cohen, such series turned the body into a spectacle that could be publicly consumed.<sup>100</sup> These repertoires were associated with the ‘interest in what the body could do on its own, without relying on any broader story’.<sup>101</sup>

Paret also produced a number of drawings of theatrical costumes, probably designed for the private masquerades and plays organized by the publisher Sancha in Madrid.<sup>102</sup> Cruz’s collection combined anonymous regional types with ‘portraits’ of well-known actors playing the roles of the blindman, the gipsy or the *maja*. Cohen notices the ‘transformative’ quality of these images, where the figures change attire and attitude adopting a succession of characters that recalls the dissolution of social identity fostered by the masquerade.<sup>103</sup> The print becomes the best example of a transformative medium, where such alterations ‘upon the single figure format’ can be endlessly reproduced.<sup>104</sup>

Goya’s response to the problem of representing the people differs from the existing conventions to which other Court painters, such as his brother-in-law Francisco Bayeu, had recourse. Paret, whose coastal scenes of labour and leisure were either purchased or commissioned in the same years for the royal country houses, also adopts a new approach to the genre. Bayeu’s people show the stiffness of generic figures or types whose actions are eclipsed by their colourful costumes.

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<sup>100</sup> . Cohen, S. *Art, Dance, and the Body in French culture of the Ancien Régime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 5.

<sup>101</sup> . Ibid. p. 139.

<sup>102</sup> . Morales y Marín, J. L. *Luis Paret: vida y obra*. Zaragoza: Aneto, 1997.

<sup>103</sup> . Cohen, op. cit., p. 147.

<sup>104</sup> . Ibid., p. 141.

Goya's and Paret's people, however, share a degree of agency that needs to be neutralised in order to avoid uneasiness and to please an audience who wished to see while retaining a reassuring sense of detachment. The transformative element and ambiguity of the theatre and the masquerade allow the spectator to achieve some distance from his or her object. Masquerading thus appears as a possible answer to the problem of how 'the people' enter the chambers of the royal palaces.

## 2. Census and masquerades: surveying the crowds

### *The census*

Possibly as a consequence of the Esquilache riots, the Bourbon administration came to consider the survey of Spanish population a priority. Shortly after the mutiny ended, one of the king's counsellors proposed a number of measures to secure the 'moral safety' of Madrid in the future. These included 'cleaning Madrid of beggars, lost women, poor people; forming an exact survey of the whole of its population and establishing suitable policy regulations, so that it can be known who enters this town

daily'.<sup>105</sup> The counsellor concluded with the necessity of adopting extreme strategies of vigilance which, however, were intended to pass unnoticed by the people subjected to 'invisible' surveillance. His report recommended the appointment of 'spies and explorers in public and private houses and meeting places, to gather information about the way the people think'.<sup>106</sup>

In 1768 a census of the whole country was undertaken under the instructions of the Count of Aranda. It was the second after the one promoted by Ensenada in 1752 and the process would be repeated twice before the end of the century. In 1786, a third census followed under Floridablanca's directions. This survey would be the more comprehensive and innovative in its 'universalizing' aims. In both Aranda's and Floridablanca's census, surveying the population became a sophisticated tool to provide the government with an accurate knowledge of its subjects.

Censuses were not merely a bureaucratic measure. Their effects were felt in each household, submitted to an inspecting visit by the local authorities in charge of counting and recording the number of members of each family.<sup>107</sup> The information

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<sup>105</sup> . 'En quanto a la seguridad moral para lo venidero, limpiando Madrid de vagamundos [*sic*], mujeres perdidas, pobres; formada una filiacion exacta de todos sus habitadores, establecida una buena regla de Policía, para saber diariamente los que entran por las Puertas de la ciudad...' (AGS / GJ, Leg. 1009, nos 43-44; cited in Andrés-Gallego, op. cit., p. 455).

<sup>106</sup> . 'Sobre todo manteniendo espías y exploradores en las casas y parajes públicos y privados, para estar informados del modo de discurrir y de pensar de las gentes' (Ibid., p. 455).

<sup>107</sup> . 'S.M.... ahora quiere que en cada lugar... la Justicia por sí, ó por Diputados del Ayuntamiento, acompañados del Cura, visiten todo el Pueblo, ó por Parroquias, calle ita, formando lista del número de almas ó individuos de cada casa, habitación o refugio dentro del Pueblo, ó en su campo y jurisdiccion, conforme á la edad de cada uno poco mas ó menos, y con expresion del oficio que exerce, sin tomar por eso sus nombres, arreglándose al modelo que acompaño' [His Majesty... wishes that in each dwelling-place... judicial officers, either by themselves or by delegating to deputies from the council, accompanied by the corresponding curate, visit the whole population, either parish by parish or street by street, writing down the number of souls or of individuals living in each house, habitation or abiding-place within the village or town, or within its jurisdiction, noting each individual's age and occupation, without taking their names, according to the template enclosed] (*Censo Español executado de orden del rey comunicado por el excelentísimo Señor Conde de Floridablanca, primer secretario de Estado y del Despacho en el año de 1787*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1787, n. p.).



thus gathered was subsequently entered in the template provided by the government and compiled in Madrid, where results were turned into a general report. The Floridablanca census in 1786 has been an object of interest due to its 'modern' characteristics.<sup>108</sup> Every household was to be included, responses were supposed to be anonymous, special attention was paid to the classification of the population in age groups and the unusual celerity of the process made the compilation of data strictly contemporary with its object of study.

Censuses were initially presented as the means to actualise the king's knowledge of the state and of the needs of his subjects. Moreover, they were part of the propaganda aimed at showing a favourable increase in the population that contradicted reports published by foreign authors. However, censuses were regarded with suspicion not only by those surveyed, but also by the local authorities expected to collaborate in their realisation. Based upon the family group as its primal unity, the census was actually an instrument of control that could –and was– used with fiscal and conscription purposes. Awareness of its invasive character is revealed by the resistance that the people offered to these all-encompassing surveying mechanisms.<sup>109</sup>

The optimistic pretensions of Floridablanca's survey to an exhaustive knowledge of his subjects were encountered by a reticent population. In 1787, an anonymous pamphlet was published in Málaga satirizing the works of the 'phantom

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<sup>108</sup> . On the innovations that characterized Floridablanca's census, see Chacón Jiménez, F. et al. *La Población Española en 1787. II Centenario del Censo de Floridablanca*. Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1987.

<sup>109</sup> . 'His Majesty is aware that, fearing conscription or taxation, the people hide any change and reduce their numbers, especially during wartime' ['Sabe S.M. que temerosos los Pueblos de las

of reason'.<sup>110</sup> The author identified the dissemination of 'reason' and the craving for knowledge of old and new territories to colonise with commerce and with its financial aims. The productions of the 'phantom of reason' were regarded as vain constructions presented under the authority of the 'Newtonian system'. Thus armed, it 'populates the planets, calculates their extension, the distance between their coasts, the composition of their waters, the quality of their fruits, the customs of their inhabitants'. The pamphlet also attributed to this 'entity' the census of the population of those planets, 'conjectured from their parish registers', in an indirect reference to the census of the previous year.<sup>111</sup>

How did the procedures to compile and to process the information about the Spanish people condition their representation? The period between the Aranda and Floridablanca censuses (1768-1786) witnessed a progressive sophistication of the conceptual tools employed to produce the surveys. Floridablanca's report published in 1787 emphasised that 'the population has been numbered with all possible accuracy and with the distinctions of sex, age, state, class and exemptions corresponding to each estate in every province of the kingdom'.<sup>112</sup> These were also the years when more accuracy and specificity were required in the images of the

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quintas, ó aumento de contribuciones, ocultan las noticias y disminuyen el número, sobre todo en tiempo de guerra'] (*Censo Español*, op. cit., n. p.).

<sup>110</sup> . *Oracion funebre dicha en las exequias del Ente de razon*. Malaga: Herederos de D. Francisco Martinez de Aguilar, 1787.

<sup>111</sup> . 'El tira, y afloxa, pesa, y repesa, alarga, y acorta, sube, y baxa á toda la naturaleza, formando como Arlequin un perfecto equilibrio en el Systema Newtoniano. El derrite los Cielos, y hace navegar á los Planetas á vela y remo, sin mas brujula que la equacion de los paralelos... El ha poblado los Planetas, ha calculado la extension de sus terrenos, la distancia reciproca de sus costas, la calidad de sus aguas, la condicion de sus alimentos, la ocupacion de sus Colonos, y aún por el Padron de sus Parroquias ha conjeturado el numero de sus habitantes' (ibid., pp. 7-8).

<sup>112</sup> . 'Se ha conseguido la numeracion con la posible exactitud, y con la distincion de sexôs [*sic*], edades, estados, clases y exenciones, que constan de los estados de cada Provincia del Reyno' (*Censo Español*, op. cit., n. p.).

people commissioned as part of the decoration of the royal palaces. Goya's tapestry cartoons and Paret's Cantabrian ports took these demands into account.

In 1780, one of the officers working for the Spanish Ministry of Finances wrote a report on the figure of the *intendente* that exemplifies how the actual fragmentation of the ruler's gaze could be effectively managed. The leaflet would be published six years later with a dedication to Floridablanca.<sup>113</sup> According to the author's instructions, local officers were expected to survey and to acquire an accurate, extensive knowledge of the geographical areas entrusted to them. The assemblage of their individual reports would provide the monarch and his Prime Minister with an overall view of the kingdom and its people. 'Seeing' was physically effected by the *intendente*, whose role as observer was subsequently appropriated by the minister and, ultimately, by the king in a process that complies with Pollock's theorisation of vision as 'an interrogation and an assumption of a place which yields itself as a metaphor for knowledge'.<sup>114</sup> The *intendente* would be familiar not only with the natural history, the laws and the economic activities and resources of his region; he would also know 'the character and inclinations' of the people, while making himself useful and agreeable to them.<sup>115</sup>

Pamphlets and reports portray the king as the 'ideal observer', whose omniscient gaze encompasses all his dominions. But this general overview is only possible because of the ruler's dependence on the 'particular' views of his representatives. Thus, in 1766, the author of the anonymous leaflet titled *Humble*

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<sup>113</sup> . De la Torre y Mollinedo, D. *Nuevo reglamento económico-metódico, útil para los mayores progresos de la Real Hacienda*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1786.

<sup>114</sup> . Pollock, op. cit., 1995, p. 41.

<sup>115</sup> . De la Torre, op. cit., pp. 58-59. See also Pollock, op. cit., 1995, p.59.

*Representation* on the Madrid riots asserts that ‘the most invincible obstacle that even the best politic of kings faces is that he cannot know by means of his eyes’.<sup>116</sup> The enlightened ruler’s ability to profit from assemblages of fragmentary data was pointed out by the banker and *ilustrado* Francisco Cabarrús in his praise of Charles III.<sup>117</sup> The king ‘[projects] his gaze over all the branches of the public administration’, but the gathering of partial, yet highly specific, observations that were required to promote public prosperity was his officers’ duty.<sup>118</sup>

The *intendente* was the officer in charge of the implementation of those measures conducive to complete the census following Floridablanca’s instructions. For the first time, the 1786 census contemplated the division of the population according to six age groups. They can be roughly identified with the six characters portrayed in Paret’s *Interior with Laundry and Praying the Rosary*, as will be seen (figs. 31, 32). In the same year of 1786, a eulogy of Alfonso X was published by Hernán Quiñones, a member of the *Sociedad Bascongada* who dedicated it to Floridablanca.<sup>119</sup> In Quiñones’s writing, Alfonso X appears as an example of wise king, whose government is based upon his ‘study of man’:

How can men be subjected to an adequate government if this is not preceded and guided by, and aimed to, wisdom? This consists of the knowledge of the human heart, of its mechanisms and of the motivations determining its actions... Their measurements and their temperaments are so unequal and varied, that we must conciliate and unify the inconstancy and mutability of Nature, the variety of ages, classes, characters, propensities, climates, interests, passions, in order to contrive the common good.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>116</sup> . ‘El más invencible escollo que se reconoce en el [más político] de los Reyes, es que no pueden saber por los ojos sino por los oídos’ (*Humilde Representación...*, reprinted in Macías, op. cit., p. 113).

<sup>117</sup> . Cabarrús, F. *Elogio de Carlos III, Rey de España y de las Indias*. Madrid, 1789.

<sup>118</sup> . *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>119</sup> . Quiñones, H. *Elogio de Alfonso X. Rey de Castilla y Leon, llamado el Sabio*. Madrid, 1786.

<sup>120</sup> . ‘Pues el gobierno de los hombres ¿cómo puede ser acertado si no le precede, dirige y anima la Sabiduría? El conocimiento del corazon humano, de los resortes y exes sobre que se mueve, de lo que

The pressure to classify the population within the categories laid down in Floridablanca's system of charts and tables suggests the uneasiness with which the introduction of undefined figured crowds in the palatial chambers could be received. Crowds were removed from the last of the scenes of the fair designed by Goya for Charles IV. The blots announcing the presence of a crowd moving towards the river in the background of a small sketch for the *Blindman's Bluff* (fig. 15) were suppressed in the final version (fig. 16). The reason for the change was the difficulty that weavers had in translating the original image to the tapestry. However, other possible explanations can be associated with the way 'the people' was to be known and how that knowledge ought to be presented. Current discourses articulating this knowledge required its individuation and tabulation, which were in direct contradiction with the protean, fluid, uncontrollable nature of the crowds sketched in Goya's designs.

### *The masquerade*

The cartoons represent a transgression of the still unstable separation between public and private spaces and their corresponding images. Goya's works introduce the street in the palace, whereas the subjects of those cartoons designed by other Court painters remain within the limits of the royal parks. Even when they show

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constituye la felicidad ó miseria de los hombres, y medios de remover ésta, y conducirles con suavidad á aquella: las medidas y temperamentos tan diversos y desiguales, que es forzoso tomar por la inconstancia y volubilidad de la naturaleza, por la variedad de edades, clases, génios, propensiones,

‘popular pastimes’, their figures have often been ‘unmasked’ as aristocrats masquerading as *majos* and *majas*.<sup>121</sup> This transgression of class conventions was aggravated by the confusing appearance of social types such as the fop and his female equivalent the *petimetra*. Their subversion of gender roles was associated with the effects of luxury and conspicuous consumption and considered socially disruptive.<sup>122</sup> These fears found a mode of representation in images and literary narratives focused on the masquerade, which embodied the corruption of commercial society.<sup>123</sup>

In the last years of the eighteenth century, moralists portrayed the whole of Spanish society as a masquerade. One of the reasons to ban the traditional Spanish cloak in 1766 was its perception as a ‘disguise’ that fostered social and sexual disorder in the streets. The decree given by the governor [*corregidor*] of Madrid in January 1766 banned specific types of hats on the ground of their potential use as ‘masks’.<sup>124</sup> The hat hid the face, whereas the body disappeared under the folds of a long cape, thus obliterating the external signs that allowed his classification as the member of a certain class, age group, geographical area and occupation. The problems posed by a heterogeneous gathering of individuals whose class and gender do not necessarily correspond to their external appearance explain the anxieties caused by the masquerade, among all the possible forms of representing the crowd.

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clímas, intereses, pasiones, que hay necesidad de concordar y reunir, haciéndolas conspirar al bien de la Sociedad... (ibid., p. xlvii).

<sup>121</sup> . Luna, J. J. et al. *Goya: 250 aniversario*. Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1996.

<sup>122</sup> . Haidt, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

<sup>123</sup> . See Castle, T. *Masquerade and Civilization. The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-century English culture and fiction*. London: Methuen, 1986.

<sup>124</sup> . Andrés Gallego, op. cit., p. 85.

With its encouragement of the promiscuous ‘mingling of the social classes’, its connotations of sexual licentiousness, its equivocal use of the ‘language of clothing’, its promotion of the pleasures of ‘seeing and being seen’, the masquerade shares some of the characteristics of the public fair.<sup>125</sup> In both cases, the crowd is depicted as threateningly ‘facetious’ and, hence, as resisting definition, quantification and, ultimately, representation. On his way to Spain in February 1786, the traveller Joseph Townsend witnessed the Carnival in Paris:

Some thousands were in masks, men in the dress of women, and women in the dress of men; all assuming characters and maintaining these characters with spirit. Popes, cardinals, monks, devils, courtiers, harlequins, and lawyers, all mingled in one promiscuous crowd.<sup>126</sup>

A few weeks later, Townsend attended the Easter processions in Barcelona and connected both events as public ‘spectacles’ in which the people became protagonist. He explains how, for some time, the government decided to replace the processions with the Carnival, ‘with the same licentious riot and confusion as I have described in Paris’.<sup>127</sup> His account of a ‘bull feast’ in Madrid emphasises the same mix of ‘men, women, and children, rich and poor’ among the crowd gathered within what Townsend describes as the ‘theatre’ surrounding the bullring.<sup>128</sup> The nature of the bull- feast as a ‘theatrical’ spectacle allows Goya to lay the emphasis on the behaviour of the audience and on problems of spectatorship in his depiction of this subject in the series of small cabinet paintings, as will be seen.

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<sup>125</sup> . Castle, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>126</sup> . Townsend, 1791, pp. 39-40.

<sup>127</sup> . Ibid., vol. 1, p. 113.

<sup>128</sup> . Ibid. vol. 1, p. 351.

Public spectacles, whether religious or not, become a visible sign of a newly perceived dilution of social categories and hierarchies. But they could also be used as an economic and / or political weapon. Townsend referred to the advantages that the Carnival reported to the local commerce in Barcelona and how its authorization or suppression were alternatively branded by the central government as a means of interfering with local politics. Street parades including masques were sponsored by the guilds of Madrid to mark political treatises or events connected with the royal family which were thus made to serve their purposes of self-advertisement.<sup>129</sup>

Images of masquerades or masks are frequent in Paret's production during the same years. When considering the problems of representation created by the emergence of a commercial society, the masquerade as metaphor for social life provides a suitable means of imagining change and conflict. The masqued assembly appears as an equivalent of the marketplace.<sup>130</sup> But it also becomes a symbolic space to release the tensions (social and representational) resulting from social change. Like the theatre, the masquerade provided the visual means for the re-negotiation of the symbols that regulate relationships not only between individuals, but also between individual and crowd. The 'gathering of all the nations on the earth' that observers noticed in the marketplace of commercial centres such as London or Amsterdam was re-enacted in the masquerade. The observer wandering through the London Exchange in a passage from *The Spectator* translated into Spanish and published in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in 1788 could thus enthuse over the spectacle provided by the mixed crowd:

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<sup>129</sup> . *Explicación Previa de los Carros y Máscara con que la Imperial y Coronada Villa de Madrid celebra el Nacimiento de los dos Serenísimos Infantes Carlos y Felipe, y Ajuste Definitivo de la Paz. Valencia, 1784.*



To see such an opulent assembly of patricians and foreigners discussing with each other the private businesses of mankind fills me with satisfaction and gratifies my vanity as an Englishman... They appear to me as a grand council where all the nations send their representatives. I delight in wandering among them... sometimes I merge within a group of Armenians; on other occasions, I get lost among a crowd of Jews; on others, I disappear within a group of Dutch men. I can be Danish, Swedish or French, whenever I want.<sup>131</sup>

Their common pursuits and interests unify the heterogeneous crowd gathered at the Exchange, erasing social distinctions and national idiosyncrasies. A similar blurring of identities characterises the masque assembly which, however, with its connotations of disorder and sexual intrigue, could become a parody of the principles and aims of trade and a reminder of its problematic morals.<sup>132</sup> Defoe's *The Complete English Tradesman*, listed in the catalogue of the Madrid bookseller Antonio de Sancha in 1787, specifically tries to disassociate the masquerade and the marketplace.<sup>133</sup> Thus, according to Defoe 'Trade is not a ball, where people appear in

<sup>130</sup> . Agnew, J. C. *Worlds apart. The market and the theater in Anglo-American thought 1550-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 21.

<sup>131</sup> . 'Reflexiones sobre las ventajas que resultan del comercio al Estado, sacadas del Espectador Ingles', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios Literarios que se publican en Europa*, nº 96, 11/02/1788, p. 25.

<sup>132</sup> . 'The proud Spaniard courts a shepherdess from the Alps, a Frenchwoman leads a deer, the Roman soldier surrounds his sword to an African woman, and the English lady tames a beast. Representatives of all the estates mingle, the threatening *baxá* surrounds his pike to his meek slave and the countryman becomes an equal to his king. In these crowded urban assemblies everything and everybody is in disguise, all is confusion, and Innocence appears only as another form of mannerism' ['Se forman bayles en los que se juntan todas las naciones del orbe para divertirse honestamente... El soberbio Español corteja á una pastora de los Alpes, la francesa encadena á una cierva, el Caballero Romano rinde el arma a una Africana, y la Inglesa doma á una garza. Todos los Estados parece que se confunden en ellos: el fiero *Baxá* rinde el arma á su timido esclavo, y el villano se iguala con su Monarca. Sí, en esas tumultuosas asambleas de las Ciudades todo está disfrazado, todo es confusion; y si alguna vez aparece la inocencia, solo la vemos afectada'] ('Descripción pintoresca del mes de Febrero', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios que se publican en Europa*, nº 92, 2/2/1788, pp. 2-3).

<sup>133</sup> . *Catalogus librorum, qui venales prostant matriti apud Antonium de Sancha*. Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1787.

masque, and act a part to make sport; where they strive to seem what they really are not, and to think themselves best drest [*sic*] when they are least known'.<sup>134</sup>

Paret's *Ball in Masque* (Madrid, Museo del Prado) was painted in 1767, only one year after the Madrid revolts (fig. 17).<sup>135</sup> Morales identifies the setting as the Teatro del Príncipe. He attributes a propagandistic aim to the image, which would be engraved in 1771 and sent abroad as an example of the public entertainments held at the Spanish court.<sup>136</sup> This specific masque ball could also refer to the reestablishment of the celebration of the Carnival by the Count of Aranda in that year.<sup>137</sup> The minister's decision, which was approved by the people of Madrid, appears as an example of the neutralizing or 'inoculating' effect of the masquerade on collective consciousness.<sup>138</sup> Its apparent subversive character cannot deny its role as the means of releasing social tensions that can be resolved only within the realm of representation. The 'symbolic inversion' of the masquerade is allowed because it ultimately reassures and sanctions the same social structure that it apparently reverses.

The masque ball appears as a space for seeing and for being seen. Balconies and theatre boxes provide the vantage point from which to look at the crowd below, while also being a part of the spectacle. As in the fair or in the marketplace, distinctions between spectators and actors, observers and participants, become blurred to the point of disappearing. This confusion prompts a destabilisation of the

<sup>134</sup> . Defoe, D. *The Complete English Tradesman: directing him in the several parts and progressions of trade...* London: C. Rivington, 1738, vol. 1, p. 93.

<sup>135</sup> . Delgado, O., *Paret y Alcázar*. Madrid: CSIC, 1957, pp. 105-107.

<sup>136</sup> . Morales y Marín, op. cit., 1997, p. 111.

<sup>137</sup> . Bottineau, Y. *L'art de cour dans l'Espagne des Lumières 1746-1808*. Paris : De Boccard, 1986, p. 83.

field of vision that can be formulated in terms of the disarticulation of 'male systems of viewing'.<sup>139</sup> Besides the emergence of alternative models of female spectatorship, the masquerade as a type of representation suggests a reversibility, openness and fluidity in the distribution of roles within the field of vision that also applies to its social structure.

It is in this respect that Paret's emphasis on the performative aspect of the masquerade can be considered indebted to William Hogarth's study of the human figure in the second plate of the *Analysis of Beauty* (fig. 44). Paret's masked characters are arranged as a frieze, whose rhythm is marked by the repetition of the same attitude in the three male figures that articulate the composition. The figure in a striped suit on the left, the elegantly dressed young man in the centre and the harlequin on the right are represented bowing in profile to left. They bend their bodies stretching their left arms and legs, while lowering their heads. As in the *Analysis*, in Paret's work the body becomes 'a theatrical body [and] a cultural artefact' open to multiple readings and interpretation.<sup>140</sup>

The preparatory drawing (c.1767 London, British Museum) for the engraving printed by Juan Antonio Salvador Carmona shows Paret's construction of the space and of the crowd by superimposing layers of grey wash (fig. 18). Individual figures are singled out by means of touches of black ink and white reserved areas, which suggest the fast movements of the spectator's gaze wandering over the dazzling view

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<sup>138</sup> . Castle, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>139</sup> . Doane, M. A. 'Film and the Masquerade: Theorising the Female Spectator', in *Screen*, vol. 23, nos 3-4, 1982, p. 82.

<sup>140</sup> . Richardson, A. 'From the Moral Mound to the Material Maze: Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*', in Berg, M. and Eger, E., eds. *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*. Basingtoke: Palgrave, 2003, p. 126.

of the assembly room. This effect is more evident in his depiction of the people on the balconies and in the theatre boxes in the background. In the painting, these areas show a uniform degree of indistinctness. The drawing, however, creates an effect of zooming in and out by its combination of the barely sketched faces of a few spectators / participants with surrounding areas of smooth grey wash that would be equally occupied by figures.

Masks and masquerades as indicators of misleading appearances and social mobility also appear in Paret's *Comedy Rehearsal* (c.1772-73 Madrid, Museo del Prado), which received this title after being attributed to him in the twentieth century (fig. 19).<sup>141</sup> The scene is set in a stage-like space, some of the figures wear fancy dress and there is a red curtain (as in other works by Paret) hanging in the foreground to introduce the spectator to the painting. Despite this identification, the subject is far from clear. The setting might also be the waiting room or dressing room where a group of fashionable people get ready for a masquerade. The lit chandelier divides the figures into two groups. On the left, two couples wearing fancy dress appear absorbed in conversation. Another young woman retrieves some clothes from a table in the background, where the artificial light from two candlesticks is reflected on the surface of a mirror with a gilded frame. Her hairstyle under the black veil and the turn of her head recalls Watteau's female figures, which Paret had probably seen during his visit to Paris around 1766 and through examples in the Spanish royal collection.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> . A scene with the same subject entitled *Gentlefolk in a palatial drawing room*, oil on canvas, 44.8 x 55.3 cms, catalogued neither by Delgado nor by Morales, was sold in Christie's New York, 28/01/2000, lots 1-113.

In the foreground, a man dressed in a rich seventeenth-century velvet costume with plumed hat, sword, cape and ruffed collar kneels in front of a young woman. She wears a black bodice over a white satin gown, ruffed collar and plumed hat. Her dress reproduces the pattern that Aileen Ribeiro identifies as the 'Rubens's wife costume' fashionable in British masquerades and portraiture in the 1770s and 1780s.<sup>143</sup> At least one of the costumes worn by the second couple draws on similar sources: the woman's *maja* dress resembles that of the Marquesa del Llano (fig. 20) in the portrait painted by Mengs (c.1771 Madrid, Academia de San Fernando).<sup>144</sup> The red and white satin ribbons and the dainty satin slippers worn by the man leaning on her chair might correspond to a young woman masquerading as a *majo*. The young child clutching the black overskirt of the woman in the white mantilla reproduces Chardin's *Petit enfant avec les attributs de l'enfance*, exhibited in the 1737 Salon and engraved by Lépicié.<sup>145</sup> On the far right, the young woman whose face is veiled by the black mantilla holds up a fan in her gloved right hand decorated with bracelets. Her attire vaguely resembles that worn by Velázquez's *Lady with a Fan* (c.1635 London, Wallace Collection) (fig. 21).

The group on the right wear contemporary clothes. The three women have their faces half-covered by their mantillas, veils or a combination of both. The man, however, wears the 'Frenchified' costume adopted after the Esquilache riots, with a

<sup>142</sup> . See Bottineau, Y. and Pita Andrade, J. *L'art européen à la Cour d'Espagne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Madrid and Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1979.

<sup>143</sup> . Ribeiro, A. *The dress worn at masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its relations to fancy dress in portraiture*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1984, pp. 146-155. The author refers, for instance, to masquerade held in 1774 where 'The master of the entertainment was dressed like Rubens, and Lady Betty Hamilton... like Rubens' wife' (op. cit., p. 146).

<sup>144</sup> . Symmons suggests that the portrait was painted in 1774. The date 1771 has been proposed by José Valverde (see Valverde, J. 'El retrato de la Marquesa del Llano, por Mengs', in *Goya*, no. 210, 1989, pp. 327-329).

<sup>145</sup> . Destroyed, formerly in the Henry de Rothschild collection (see Rosenberg, P. *Chardin 1699-1779*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1979, p. 188).

tricorn and a short blue cloak thrown over his shoulder. His waistcoat richly embroidered in gold and red, as well as his laced cuffs, evidence the role of fashion as a sign of status. Although the presence of a young child suggests a family group, it is unclear how these five figures are related to each other. Are they visitors arriving to a private masquerade? Does this juxtaposition of fancy dresses and modern costume refer to the artifice involved in any form of social self-presentation?

Still at the outset of his career, Paret pays homage to the tradition represented by Rubens, Velázquez, Chardin, Watteau and Mengs. He emphasises these associations by means of the brush protruding from the left edge of the painting. With this detail, Paret provides the spectator with the means to expose his own contrivance. In this small, technically brilliant painting, Paret merges theatricality and references to a 'national' tradition of painting in the process of reinventing itself. The theatrical organisation of the space, the curtain and the female figure wearing a white mantilla and a black overskirt on the right also appeared in the *Trinket Shop* (1784, Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, fig. 22). Curtains, mirrors, lights and expensive pieces of furniture contribute to the overall sense of artifice, reinforced by the fancy dress of the figures. These objects acquire a life of their own as luxury goods that include Painting itself, as suggested by the framed picture of a bullfighting hanging on the wall.

Paret painted the *Comedy Rehearsal* shortly after his return from his study travel to Italy and France sponsored by the king's brother, the *infante* Don Luis. The work originally belonged to the latter's collection and it is tempting to identify him with the man elegantly dressed represented on the right. Paret might be displaying

the results of his study of prestigious models to legitimate his own position within the tradition of Spanish painting. His early admiration of Velázquez, already noticed by Symmons, would be reinforced by his personal debt to Mengs, whose protection he received as a student at the Madrid Academia.<sup>146</sup> He also reveals his knowledge of foreign (French) Painting, thus demonstrating how he had profited from the opportunity provided by the *infante*'s patronage.

Paret's choice of subject is significant when considering the ambiguous, if not decidedly negative, connotations of the masquerade as a metaphor of social life.<sup>147</sup> It is also indicative of his attitude to the fashioning of his own identity as a painter and courtier. In a society regulated by what Defoe called 'shop-rhetorick', external signs are not reliable any more. Each apparent layer of 'reality' is equally deceptive and in need of interpretation and decoding. In his *History of Luxury* (Madrid, 1788), Juan Sempere y Guarinos attributes to this vice the confusion 'in their exterior deportment' occurring among the members of what had been formerly 'three different states: the ecclesiastical, the military or noble, and the general'.<sup>148</sup> Among the solutions proposed by this author, there is a reference to the knowledge of the psychological motivations underlying conspicuous consumption as a form of social emulation. In his search for a compromise between traditional morals and the demands of a bourgeois model of economic progress, Sempere suggests the necessity

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<sup>146</sup> . Symmons, S. 'El Galgo y la Liebre: Francisco de Goya y Luis Paret' in García, I. and Calvo Serraller, F., eds. *Goya, Nuevas Visiones*. Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1987, pp. 396-412.

<sup>147</sup> . Carter, op. cit. p. 135.

<sup>148</sup> . Sempere y Guarinos, J. *Historia del Luxo y de las Leyes Suntuarias de España*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1788., pp. 162-63.

of a wise management or 'engineering' of the 'passions' that condition the behaviour of the people as consumers.<sup>149</sup>

The sense of social instability resulting from luxury and conspicuous consumption was already foreseen by the anatomist Martín Martínez in 1745. In his *Complete Anatomy*, the physician explained the usefulness of a knowledge of physiognomy, since 'variety in the combination of facial features is an effective means of distinguishing individuals and their minds; their confusion would bring the political estate to the utmost disorder'.<sup>150</sup> Commerce and its excesses led to a disruption of the traditional structure and states of society turned into a permanent masquerade. Carnival and masquerades rendered visible the anxieties resulting of this newly discovered 'Protean social world [where] the conventional sign posts of social and individual identity had become mobile and manipulable'.<sup>151</sup> The strategies of self-presentation that regulated the display of the body in public spaces appeared as a matter of careful staging, whose increasing complexity demanded a similar degree of sophistication in the viewer's interpretative skills.

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<sup>149</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1788, p. 205. For an analysis of the ambivalent attitudes to luxury and consumption of Sempere and other Spanish writers on political economy, see Rico, J. 'Criptoburguesía y cambio económico en la Ilustración española', in *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, no. 408, 1984, pp. 25-55.

<sup>150</sup> . 'A ninguna otra parte se asoma mas el Alma, que a la Cara, siendo entre la varia combinacion de las pocas facciones que tiene, el eficaz distintivo de los individuos, y animos, cuya confusion traería el mayor desorden al estado Político' (Martínez, M. *Anatomía Completa del Hombre*. Madrid: Imprenta Real por Don Miguel Franco Rodríguez, 1745, p. 420).

<sup>151</sup> . Agnew, op. cit., p. 9.



### 3. The state of the public mind

#### *The Political Physician*

Arthur Young's *Inquiry into the state of the public mind amongst the lower classes* (London, 1798) reveals the particular political anxieties pervasive in the aftermath of the French Revolution. In the *Inquiry*, Young, whose works appeared among those sent to Spain from London by Campo, as well as in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* and among Jovellanos's readings, had recourse to the traditional image of the diseased physical body as a metaphor of the body politics.<sup>152</sup> The aim of this comparison was to urge immediate action to counteract the 'poisoning' influence of the Jacobin doctrines. Young wonders why 'hospitals for the diseases of the body have been built and endowed with a generous profusion: do we see no *diseases of the soul* among the poor, that demand a similar attention?'.<sup>153</sup>

The pamphlet sits uneasily between enlightened paternalism and post-revolutionary disenchantment. Despite the innate 'goodness' of the people, Young warns against the dangers of taking for granted their loyalty to a system that enforces social distinctions and denies the 'romantic phantom' of equality.<sup>154</sup> What is Young's prescription to prevent the corruption of 'the goodness of our people's character'? An example of his advice is the 'examination' of 'the lives and conversation of

<sup>152</sup> . Young sent thirty four issues of his works on Agriculture as a present for the Economic Society of Madrid in 1786 (AGS, Sección Estado, leg. 8164, 18/11/1786). See also *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, nº 131, 2/6/1788, p. 13.

<sup>153</sup> . Young, A. *An Enquiry into the state of the public mind amongst the Lower Classes: and on the means of turning it to the welfare of the State*. London: W. J. & J. Richardson, 1798, p. 21.

<sup>154</sup> . *Ibid.*, p. 6.

tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, graziers, the lesser manufacturers and so many others immediately above the labouring class' searching for symptoms of the 'spirit of infidelity creeping among them'.<sup>155</sup> If in his 1771 project to measure the population Young trusted figures and surveys as a reliable means to know the people, in 1798 his 'thermometer of the state' was to be applied not only to the public body, but also to the 'public mind'.<sup>156</sup>

Young's works on 'political economy' were quoted in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in 1788 in order to reject as pessimistic the estimates concerning the state of the British population which attributed its supposed decrease to the spread of luxury and consumption.<sup>157</sup> Other reasons rendered desirable the improved knowledge of the population resulting from the census. One was the perception of social unrest and continuous uprisings which demanded the development of new measures of control. Only a few days before the reference to Young, the *Espíritu* translated a fragment from Simon Nicolas-Henri Linguet's *Annales* on British legislation:

Society is at war against itself, the symptoms being a certain division and a more or less clear hate... A secret fight is under way everywhere between those who rule and those who are ruled upon, between masters and servants, between judges and litigants, between sellers and buyers, within the different orders of the social hierarchy, between the poor and the rich, and between that who lends and that who borrows. What thing is a civil contract, but a temporary peace?<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> . Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>156</sup> . Young, A. *Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People. Containing some observations on the Population of Great Britain...* London: W. Nicoll, 1771.

<sup>157</sup> . *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 137, 14/07/1788, pp. 37-38.

<sup>158</sup> . 'La sociedad está en continua guerra consigo misma, siendo los síntomas de ella una cierta diferencia y un odio más o menos claro... en todas partes se hallan una lucha secreta entre los que gobiernan y los que son gobernados, entre los amos y los criados, entre los jueces y los litigantes, entre los vendedores y compradores, en los diferentes ordenes de la gerarquía [sic] social, entre el pobre y el rico, y entre el que presta y el que recibe. ¿Qué otra cosa es un contrato civil sino una paz

Young's observations also find a parallel in the brief analysis of 'the people' included in the chapter devoted to explain the meaning of 'Opinion' in a treatise on Logic published in Madrid in 1771, only five years after the Esquilache revolts. The author, Andrés Piquer, was not a statesman, but a court physician subsequently appointed to teach anatomy at the Royal Academy of Medicine of Madrid.<sup>159</sup> In his *Logic*, Piquer outlined a classification of different kinds of imagination. Some of them, which he termed 'small', 'swollen', 'deep', 'contagious' or 'passionate', were associated with specific human 'types', such as melancholic women, children or charismatic leaders ('*hombres con autoridad*').<sup>160</sup>

A broader application of Piquer's taxonomy of the passions can be found near the end of his text: Piquer remarks that 'the People are governed by their senses, more than by their reason: material goods attract them, whereas the dread of corporeal harm keeps them under restraint'.<sup>161</sup> The same author had already considered the passions that moved the people to act as a whole in a previous section of the *Logic*, where they were referred to as 'the rabble' (*el vulgo*). However, a distinction was made between 'upper' and 'lower' people that also appeared in Young's 1798 pamphlet:

That despicable part of the rabble often called 'lower' is better in this respect [public opinion] than the 'upper' people. The People that constitute the

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momentanea?' ('Anales de Linguet. Inglaterra. Legislacion. Edicto de Amnistía en favor de los deudores insolventes', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 136, 07/07/1788, p. 17).

<sup>159</sup> . Hernández Zorzano, S. 'Biografía de Andrés Piquer', in *Trabajos de la Cátedra de Historia Crítica de la Medicina*, vol. 7, 1936, p. 447.

<sup>160</sup> . Piquer, A. *Lógica*. Madrid: Joachin de Ibarra, 1771, pp. 148-166.

<sup>161</sup> . Ibid., p. 240 (appendix 3a).

former are usually guided by sensible basic notions and by the simplest combinations produced by their genius. When dealing with more complex issues, they accept the rule imposed by those whom they consider more intelligent and subject themselves to them. The upper people are different, since they believe themselves able to judge of any matter and so they do - with great satisfaction and no knowledge. Hence, the People's mistakes in substantial matters always derive from the upper people, from whom the rest learn.<sup>162</sup>

Knowing the body of the public, as well as the public mind, appears to be one of the reasons behind the improvement of medical practice and learning in Spain during the reigns of Ferdinand VI and Charles III. In 1797, the Royal Academy of Medicine of Madrid outlined a 'plan of occupations' for its members. The study of the natural history and topography of the area, its urbanism and epidemiological profile, were considered as pertaining to the physician's field of competence. Moreover, he should inquire into 'the character and education, both physical and moral, of its inhabitants, noticing the influence of their imagination in the production of many of their diseases'.<sup>163</sup>

The importance of medicine to control the population was remarked in an article reviewing the 'Treatise on the means that can and must be employed by every nation in order to increase and strengthen their populations, written in German by Mr. Frank and translated to Dutch with annotations by M. H. A. Bake', which appeared in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in January 1789.<sup>164</sup> The author's aim was 'to prove the influence that the art of healing has ever had in the legislation of

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<sup>162</sup> . Piquer, op. cit., 1771, p. 86 (appendix 3b).

<sup>163</sup> . *Memorias de la Real Academia Médica de Madrid*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1797, vol. 1, p. xx.

<sup>164</sup> . 'Leyden. Tratado de los medios que pueden y deben ser empleados por todas las naciones para conseguir una poblacion numerosa y robusta, escrito en Aleman por M. Frank, y traducido al Olandes [sic] con anotaciones por M. H. A. Bake', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 183, 01/06/1789, pp. 116-132.

mankind'. He offered examples of how the medical perspective on 'marriage, education, eating, costume, physical exercise and other aspects of the private life of the citizen' came to be integrated in the legislative system of different peoples. The physician's views would become even more relevant within the context of the debate on luxury and consumption, which associated disordered needs, appetites and desires with imagination, fancy and caprice.<sup>165</sup> According to Frank, the legislator need to take into account the usefulness of the physician's knowledge in a modern society:

Mr. Frank derives this need [to improve medicine] from the increasing death rate, for which he suggests a number of causes, such as pernicious pleasures, alterations in the climate, the change in lifestyles, the excessive accumulation of people in the cities and many other defects of modern societies... Commerce among different Peoples has contributed in no small measure to the propagation and generalisation of diseases unknown to certain countries... Moreover, some diseases that always existed have been intensified by the excess of pleasures and by the physical weakness resulting from it, as observed in the extraordinary number of nervous diseases pervasive among us.<sup>166</sup>

In his cartoon *The Doctor* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland), Goya represents a male figure wrapped in a long, red cloak, wearing a black tricorne and holding a walking stick (fig. 24). The man is seated on the floor outdoors warming his hands in front of a *brasero*, with books lying open on the right. The scene is observed by two young men also wearing capes and hats on the left. What is the role

<sup>165</sup> . Berry, C. *The idea of luxury. A conceptual and historical investigation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 118.

<sup>166</sup> . 'Mr. Frank infiere particularmente esta necesidad [de perfeccionar la medicina], de que la muerte hace de dia en dia extragos [sic] entre los hombres; efecto del qual indica varias causas, como el pernicioso deleyte, la mudanza de climas, la diferencia del modo de vida, la poblacion demasiadamente reunida en las ciudades y otros muchos defectos de las sociedades modernas... el comercio de diferentes Pueblos no ha contribuido poco á propagar y á hacer casi generales las enfermedades desconocidas en ciertos Países... Por otra parte, ciertas enfermedades que han existido en todo tiempo han recibido del deleyte, y de la debilitacion corporal que produce, mucha intensidad, lo que se prueba con el prodigioso número de enfermedades de nervios que reynan entre nosotros' (ibid., pp. 118-119).

of the physician with respect to Goya's images of the people? His inclusion in the series could correspond to a revaluation of the medical profession and to the increasingly important contribution of its practitioners to the surveillance of the population.

The Academy of Medicine of Madrid had been created in 1737. It was one of many institutions operating under royal patronage, together with the 'royal library of science' and a still non-existent 'royal academy of the arts of drawing' represented by Matías de Irala in an etching portraying Ferdinand VI as protector of the liberal arts (fig. 25).<sup>167</sup> The king is enthroned flanked by female personifications of the 'liberal arts', those on the right alluding to the manufactures of porcelain and textiles. One of these allegorical figures carries a statue of Mercury as the god of Medicine, Arts and Commerce. The walls are decorated with paintings showing Fortune standing on her wheel and the story of Minerva and Aracne, in a likely reference to the royal tapestry factory, also created by Ferdinand VI.

Irala's references to Fortune in connection with the 'practical' and 'liberal' arts appear as a reflection of their place and their roles within a society dominated by commerce. Sciences and, more specifically, Medicine, as well as Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Manufactures, are represented as belonging to what Honig calls 'Mercury's realm of images'.<sup>168</sup> The presence of the winged god also suggests the element of 'deception and trickery' shared by the quack, the actor, the merchant, the sculptor and the painter as 'image makers' operating within the marketplace and its peculiar system of production of value.

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<sup>167</sup> . Irala, M. *Metodo Sucinto y Compendioso de Cinco Simetrías*. Madrid, 1739.

Ferdinand VI's physician Piquer mentioned in his writings the theories of British medical authors like Thomas Willis and translated Jean Antoine Nolle's works into Spanish. He was praised by Sempere in 1786 for his contribution to the suppression of 'the old philosophy' in Spanish medicine.<sup>169</sup> Sempere referred to the measures adopted in this respect by the government, which included the creation of anatomical theatres and the requirement of the study of Physics and Geometry for training physicians.<sup>170</sup> For Sempere, a good practice of medicine was still linked to Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*. Piquer's translation of the *Epidemiae* completed the original text with his own comments and observations. Among these additions, references to more updated medical sources, such as Cheyne, Haller, Sydenham, Mead or Pringle, can be found.

Piquer was aware of contemporary medical knowledge but his work remained firmly anchored in what might be called a pre-autopsic notion of the body.<sup>171</sup> Despite his role as professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy of Medicine of Madrid, he was not very keen on practising dissections himself, although his teaching emphasized the importance of clinical observation.<sup>172</sup> Piquer considered the work of the physician within a broader context in which the connection between body and soul could be explained by means of medical evidence.<sup>173</sup> His *Logic* provided an explanation of the operations of the mind based on his knowledge of human

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<sup>168</sup> . Honig, E. A. *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998, p. 2.

<sup>169</sup> . Sempere y Guarinos, J. *Reflexiones sobre el Buen Gusto en las Ciencias y en las Artes*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1782, p. 270.

<sup>170</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> . Foucault, M. *The Birth of the Clinic*. London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 70-72.

<sup>172</sup> . Burke, M. B. *The Royal College of San Carlos: Surgery and Spanish Medical Reform in the Late Eighteenth Century*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1977, p. 18.

<sup>173</sup> . Piquer, op. cit., 1771, p. 1.

physiology. Perception was thus explained as the combined operation of the senses and the nervous system. The model proposed by Piquer asserted the absolute dependence of any perceptual act on the body and denounced the ‘ignorance’ of ‘those who attribute to the soul those intellectual operations independent of the body’:

The sensible object, when in contact with the corresponding organ of sense, produces an impression on this organ and on its nerves, by means of which it is communicated to their origins located in the head... The brain must thus concur with its support to the exercise of the operations of the senses. This does not mean that the brain is the site of sensation, but that there are laws regulating the necessary connections between the parts of the human body.<sup>174</sup>

Piquer followed Locke when stating that ‘there is nothing in our understanding that has not been before in our senses’. One of his main concerns was how the ‘passions’ interfered with the regular functioning of the senses and of other physical mechanisms. Self-examination and a reflexive inquiry into the processes by means of which the subject knows and feels became a precondition for the exercise of reason and judgement.<sup>175</sup> When explaining the operations of the mind in his 1771 *Logic*, Piquer turned to the marketplace in search of suitable metaphors:

Our memory is like a fair, where all sort of commodities are on display; some of them are valuable, others are worth nothing; some are in good condition, others are rotten; but our judgement is the customer who chooses only those deserving his approval, so that he can use them as appropriate, whereas the rest is rejected. It is true that without plenty and variety of materials, our judgement will not be able to exercise itself.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> . Ibid., p. 19 (appendix 3c).

<sup>175</sup> . Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>176</sup> . ‘Es la memoria como una feria donde están expuestas mercancías de todos géneros, unas buenas, otras malas; unas enteras, otras podridas; pero el juicio es el comprador, que escoge solamente las que le merecen estimación, y hace de ellas el uso que corresponde, y desecha las demás. Es verdad que si no hay abundancia y riqueza, no tendrá que escoger’ (ibid., p. 170).



The physician used the marketplace as a metaphor for a model of knowledge based on the experience acquired through the senses, but also on the assumption of a correct relationship between the physical and the psychological aspects of cognition. The deceptive nature of surfaces and appearances could only be checked and corrected by a well-stored understanding working in close connection with a trained eye. What happens when the conjunction of mind and eye does not work as expected? Bermingham associates the late eighteenth-century interest in physiognomy with ‘the period’s preoccupation with the natural sign –that is, the sign which bears a transparent relationship to the thing it represents’.<sup>177</sup> Étienne Bonnot de Condillac’s study of the role of the sign in the operations of the imagination, contemplation and memory was summarised by Elmotte de Montreuil-sur-Mer in his response to Dom Aubry’s objections to his philosophy, which appeared in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in May 1789.<sup>178</sup> Similarly, in his ‘Letter on musical painting addressed to M. Reycharde [sic]’ published two months later in the same journal, J. J. Engel proposes a definition of Painting also based on the notion of the ‘natural sign’:

We call Painting to the representation of an object that is not shown to the soul by means of conventional signs, but offered to the perception of the senses by means of natural signs.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>177</sup> . Bermingham, A. ‘The Picturesque and ready-to-wear femininity’, in Copley, S. and Garside, P. eds. *The Politics of the Picturesque. Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 107.

<sup>178</sup> . *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 180, 11/05/1789, p. 25.

<sup>179</sup> . ‘Llámase pintar quando se representa un objeto, no indicándole al alma con signos de convención, y si ofreciéndole á la percepcion de los sentidos por signos naturales’ (‘Berlín. Carta sobre la pintura musical dirigida á M. Reycharde... por J. J. Engel, de la Real Academia de Ciencias de esta ciudad’, in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 191, 27/07/1789, p. 305).

In the same letter, Engel explained the rules of perception as derived from ‘oratory and pantomime’. He specified, however, that they could be easily applied to ‘all the imitative arts’. The basis of his explanation was that ‘every movement of the soul is closely connected to certain related movements observed in the nervous system, which they sustain and reinforce’. The movements in the nervous system and the ‘analogous movements in the soul’ occur ‘whenever an impression is produced in the senses’. Instead of trying to determine an order or hierarchy within the process, Engel considered that ‘their action is reciprocal and the same way by which they are sent from the soul to the body, allows their return from the body to the soul’. Each of these movements is conditioned by the ‘ideas’ that prompt the whole process. ‘Perception’ and ‘examination’ depend on their variety, associations, richness, ‘sublime’ nature or mode of succession.<sup>180</sup>

By the time the Basque physician Ignacio Ruíz de Luzuriaga (1763 – 1822), submitted to the Academy of Madrid his dissertation on the connection of the nervous and the vascular systems supervised by William Cullen in Edinburgh, medical knowledge in Spain was decidedly based on the practice of dissections.<sup>181</sup> Cullen’s theories on the nervous system have been connected with the development of the concept of ‘sensibility’ in the context of Scottish Enlightenment.<sup>182</sup> His

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<sup>180</sup> . ‘Todos los afectos del alma están intimamente unidos con ciertos movimientos relativos que se verifican en el sistema de los nervios con lo que les sostienen y fortifican. Estos movimientos no solo se verifican en el sistema nervioso quando les excitan los afectos analogos del alma; sino que tambien existen siempre que en los sentidos se produce la impresion correspondiente. La accion es reciproca, y el mismo camino que les dirige del alma al cuerpo los vuelve del cuerpo al alma’ (ibid., p. 309; the letter continues in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 192, 03/08/1789, p. 9).

<sup>181</sup> . Luzuriaga’s dissertation entitled *Tentamen medicum, inaugurale, de reciproca atque mutual systematis sanguinei et nervosi actione* was published in Edinburgh in 1786 and presented to the Academy of Madrid in 1797.

<sup>182</sup> . Klonk, C. *Science and the Perception of Nature: British landscape art in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996, pp. 19-20.

assumption of the existence of a 'nervous power or fluid in the brain' would provide him with the explanation not only of perception, but also of mental operations in general. The nervous system would be 'the connecting medium between the soul and body', 'the origin of sensation' and 'the organ of intellectual operations, memory and judgement'.<sup>183</sup> What Cullen calls 'the exertions of the energy of the brain' would be under the influence of the will, and therefore, of 'passions and emotions', whose representation ought to be one of the aims of the philosopher-painter.<sup>184</sup>

In September 1789, Johann Georg Sulzer's 'Letter on gesture, pantomime and theatrical performance' was reviewed in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*. The article focused on how 'the body and its different parts' could express 'the operations and inner movements of the soul'. The author referred to the effect of the 'soul' over the 'muscles' and he quoted Descartes to emphasise that the vascular system was not subjected to such influence. The easiness and quickness with which facial muscles would change prompted him to wish that artists would set the grounds for a deeper knowledge of physiognomy 'by fixing as much as possible what is so variable in nature and offering it to the spirit of observation':

According to Sulzer, if the amateur naturalist can get printed in his soul the shape and structure of thousands of plants and insects with such a degree of accuracy and exactness that the most imperceptible detail is observed, we can presume that it is possible to create a collection of different physiognomies and their alterations, produced and classified with the same care... Why should not be considered equally possible and useful to have a collection of expressive gestures in the same fashion as existing collections of designs of shells, plants and insects?<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> . Pettigrew, T. *Medical Portrait Gallery*. London, 1838-1840, vol. 2, p. 11.

<sup>184</sup> . Cullen, W. *First Lines of the Practice of Physic*. Edinburgh: William Creech, 1778-84, vol. 2, p. 82.

<sup>185</sup> . 'Si los artistas dibujantes consiguen preparar el camino, fijando en quanto sea posible lo que es tan movible en la naturaleza, y tan momentaneo con relacion al gesto, y ofreciendo lo expresado fielmente al espíritu observador... Reflexionando, dice Sulzer, que por solo el examen de los diseños

Paret's knowledge of the works of the Dutch physician Petrus Camper is confirmed by the manuscript essay 'on the variations that cause the positive difference in the faces of men of different ages and nations', offered to the Academy of San Fernando in 1802 by Paret's widow.<sup>186</sup> Paret's manuscript was a translation into Spanish of Camper's *Dissertation Physique... sur les différences réelles que présentent les traits du visage chez les hommes de différents pays et de différentes âges*. Although delivered as a lecture in the 1780s, Camper's dissertation was published after his death by his son and translated to French in 1791.<sup>187</sup> The painter's version, which was not published by the academy and is now lost, can therefore be dated around 1791-1794.<sup>188</sup> Paret's relation with the Luzuriaga family would explain his access to Camper's theories.<sup>189</sup> During his stay in London, Ignacio Ruíz de Luzuriaga studied with John Hunter, who knew Camper's publications and based his lectures on a gradation of skull types on display in his museum.<sup>190</sup> Moreover, the translator of Camper's dissertation into French was the chemist Denis Bernard

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y de las descripciones, consigue un aficionado á la historia natural imprimir en su alma la forma y estructura de millares de plantas y de insectos, con tanta fidelidad y exâctitud que en ellos observan lo mas imperceptible; con razon puede presumirse que una coleccion de diferentes fisonomías, y de las modificaciones de sus facciones, hecha y clasificada con el mismo cuidado, es igualmente posible y que de ella resultaría un arte no menos importante en su clase. ¿Por qué no ha de ser tan posible y tan útil una coleccion de gestos expresivos, como una de diseños de conchas, de plantas, y de insectos?' ('Berlín. Carta sexta sobre el gesto, la pantomima y la accion teatral', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 200, 28/09/1789, pp. 95-96).

<sup>186</sup> . Delgado, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

<sup>187</sup> . On Camper's *Dissertation*, see Bindman, D. *Ape to Apollo*. London: Reaktion, 2002, pp. 201-209 and Grindle, N. "'Our imperfect knowledge'. Petrus Camper and the search for an 'ideal form'", in *RES*, vol. 31, 1997, pp. 139-148.

<sup>188</sup> . Camper, P. *Dissertation Physique de Mr Pierre Camper, sur les différences réelles que présentent les traits du visage chez les hommes de différents pays et de différents âges... Traduite du Hollandois par Denis Bernard Quatremère d'Isjonval*. Utrecht, 1791.

<sup>189</sup> . Blanco, J.L. 'Varia Paretiana', in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional Pintura Española Siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Fundación Museo del Grabado Español Contemporáneo, 1998, pp. 306-316. See also Pardo Canalís, E. 'Una Composición Inédita de Paret' in *Revista Goya*, nº 181-182, 1984, pp. 2-4.

<sup>190</sup> . Bindman, op. cit., 2002, pp. 211-214.

Quatremère d'Isjonval (1754-1830), whom the Spanish government unsuccessfully tried to recruit to supervise the royal factories in 1784.<sup>191</sup>

That Paret's interest in the comparative study of the skull was not an isolated case in late eighteenth-century Spain is suggested by the visit that the Marquis of Ureña paid to John Hunter's museum during his stay in London in the late 1780s. Ureña, a representative of the enlightened nobility of Cádiz, was taken by Dr. Cruikshank to see one of Hunter's dissections. He most likely attended his lectures on comparative anatomy, judging from his informed description of the sequence of skulls on display in Hunter's museum, which also appear in the portrait of John Hunter by Sir Joshua Reynolds (fig. 26). Following Hunter's demonstration, Ureña concludes that 'the three degrees of obliquity in the anterior part of the face and the location of the occipital aperture (towards the center of the skull) in the white man, the black man and the ape confirm their similarity'.<sup>192</sup>

Anatomical procedures and dissections were identified with a mode of thinking that did not escape the attacks of the satirist. In 1780, an anonymous pamphlet against 'the fashions of the day' was published in Barcelona targeting the Spanish imitators of 'foreign foppish authors'.<sup>193</sup> The *currutaco*, or foppish philosopher, was identified with 'the modern fop who handles the knife relying on Anglo-French opinions', in an allusion to dissection as a form of analytical thought. The same type was further characterised by the already mentioned *Libro de Moda* as

<sup>191</sup> . Clayburn La Force, J. 'Technological diffusion in the 18th century: the Spanish textile industry', in *Technology and Culture*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1964, p. 329.

<sup>192</sup> . '[Vimos] las tres gradaciones de la oblicuidad de la parte anterior del rostro y situación (hacia el medio de la calavera) del agujero occipital en el hombre blanco, en el negro, y en el mono, con la semejanza en la confirmación' (Pemán, M., ed. *El viaje europeo del Marqués de Ureña (1787-1788)*. Cádiz: Unicaja, 1992, p. 323).

an enthusiastic reader of Condillac.<sup>194</sup> The role of the skilled observer was associated not only with the ruler or with the statesman, but also with the artist, the naturalist or the physician –with all those activities characterised by ‘the centrality of looking’.<sup>195</sup>

### *The Physiognomist in the Market-place*

Goya’s tapestry cartoons register the liveliness, but also the conflicts and the tensions of the marketplace. But they approach their subject in a methodical fashion, akin to a taxonomy of the everyday life and customs of the people of Madrid. Their themes appear in the *Libro de Moda* satirized as examples of the interest of the ‘foppish philosopher’:

You must either become philosophers or abandon the historical brush. Paint for us the fashions, the games, the pastimes, the pleasures, the luxury of nations in their moments of splendour. These are the times when fops and *petit maîtres* shine... Do not represent battles, ruins, decline, since these are gloomy, depressing ideas. The colours of History must be fresh and gay... Let’s consider luxury, wealth, frivolity, lightness, pleasures, foppishness: what a beautiful and interesting picture!<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> . *Sátira chistosa alusiva a las Modas del día que da a luz don Mauricio, B. S., ...* Barcelona, 1780? p. 7.

<sup>194</sup> . Fernández de Rojas, J. *Libro de Moda, ó ensayo de la historia de los Currutacos, Pirracas, y Madamitas del Nuevo Cuño, escrito por un Filósofo Currutaco, y corregido nuevamente por un Señorito Pirracas* [third edition]. Madrid: Imprenta de don Blas Román, 1796, p. xxv.

<sup>195</sup> . Jordanova, L. ‘The art and science of seeing in medicine’, in Bynum, W. and Porter, R. eds. *Medicine and the Five Senses*. Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 128.

<sup>196</sup> . ‘Sed Filósofos, ó dexad el pincel histórico. Pintadnos las modas, los juegos, las diversiones, los placeres, el lujo de las Naciones en su estado de esplendor. Esto es, quando brillan los Petimetres y los Currutacos... No trateis de batallas, de ruinas, de decadencia, porque estas ideas son negras, y entristecen. El colorido de la Historia ha de ser fresco y alegre... Consideremos el lujo, las riquezas, la frivolidad, la ligereza, los placeres, la *Currutaquería*. Qué cuadro tan bello, tan interesante!’ (Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., pp. 3-4).

How was the choice of contemporary genre subjects justified? Lavater recommended the marketplace as the best place for the physiognomist to observe the variety that different occupations, ages, costumes and customs determine in a given population. Goya's cartoons are populated by some of the types described in the taxonomy of the Spanish *fops* or *currutacos* satirised in the *Libro de Moda*. According to its author, this species 'admits one thousand divisions and subdivisions, so that within the same class, there are many gradations that the fine eye of the naturalist must distinguish and paint'.<sup>197</sup> Goya's representation of the people in the marketplace registers the differences in costumes and physiognomy that mark their geographical provenance and their job. Cartoons such as the *Walk in Andalucia* (fig. 1) or the *Card Players* (fig. 27) followed the parody of a Linnean classification proposed by the *Libro de Moda*:

In the species of Spanish fops, the first is the Madrid fop [*Currutaco Matritense*] who wanders around the Prado every afternoon... A number of classes follow, whose habits and specific properties will be described here. The Andalusian fop, also called *Xaque*, wears pistols and knife in his belt, long pipe, dark face, broad-brimmed hat, short cloak, broad breeches, jacket and waistcoat full of buttons, embroidery, ribbons and trifles. The same applies to the fop from Lavapiés, called *Manolo*, wearing his hair in a high tail, cap under the pointed hat, long cloak and short jacket, serious gaze and angry talk.<sup>198</sup>

Interest in natural history was not restricted to the *ilustrados* associated with the recently created Botanical Garden. In his diaries, the engraver Pedro González de

<sup>197</sup> . Ibid., pp. 37-38.

<sup>198</sup> . 'En la familia de los *Currutacos* Españoles, el *Currutaco Matritense* que pasea indefectiblemente en el Prado todas las tardes... ocupa el primer lugar. Síguense varias clases, cuyas costumbres y propiedades características se describen. Allí se halla el *Currutaco* Andaluz llamado *Xaque*, con pistola y puñal en el cinto, pipa de á vara, rostro moreno, sombrero chambergo, capa corta, calzon follado, chupa y chaleco, anegados en botones, bordados, cintajos y garambaynas. Tambien el *Currutaco* del Avapiés llamado *Manolo*, con moñote empinado, cofia arremangada, sombrero de pico largo y agudo, capa larga y chupa corta, mirar serio y hablar ayrado' (ibid., pp. 37-38).

Sepúlveda referred to the Italian artisan Josef Fontanelle, an expert maker of silk stockings ‘in the French fashion’ whose house in the ‘Calle de los Leones... opposite Goya’ hosted a collection of natural history.<sup>199</sup> A copy of George Louis Le Clerc, Count de Buffon’s *Histoire Naturelle* travelled with Paret from Bilbao to Madrid in 1787.<sup>200</sup> The author of the *Libro de Moda* could assume that his readership would be familiar enough with the rudiments of this discipline to recognize the parody.

In 1787 a large number of medical books were ordered from the Spanish ambassador in London for the library of the newly founded Royal College of Surgeons of Madrid.<sup>201</sup> The selection was made by its director Antonio Gimbernat, a surgeon specialized in ophthalmology trained in the Netherlands, France, Scotland and England, where he was a student of John Hunter.<sup>202</sup> Despite the late date of the purchase, Gimbernat probably knew these authors during his research trips in the 1770s. Although the list authorized by the ambassador Campo included the latest medical books published in Edinburgh and London, Gimbernat also considered necessary to buy earlier works, such as Bernard de Mandeville’s *Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*.<sup>203</sup>

In Mandeville’s dialogues, the physician consulted by one of the characters compares his own ‘trade’ to that of the cloth merchant. In both cases, ‘this skill we

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<sup>199</sup> . ‘Dn Josef Fontanelle ynbiado de Turín para ylar y torcer la seda y hacer medias finas como las de Francia, es gravador de piedras duras, vive Ce. de los Leones no. 7 qto. Principal a espaldas de Goya. Junto los basilios, (?) tiene muchas cosas de historia natural’ (González de Sepúlveda, P. *Apuntes sobre el grabado de medallas, sellos, etc.* 1789-1793, Biblioteca Nacional, Mss/12628. f.17r).

<sup>200</sup> . Pardo Canalís, E. ‘Libros y Cuadros de Paret en 1787’, in *Revista de Ideas Estéticas*, vol. 23, n° 90, 1965, pp. 107-112.

<sup>201</sup> . Riera, J. *Cirugía Española Ilustrada y su comunicación con Europa. Estudio y documentos de un influjo cultural*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1976, appendix doc. 57, AGS, Secc. Estado leg. 8155.

<sup>202</sup> . García del Real, E. ‘Los anatómicos y los cirujanos del siglo XVIII y el Dr Antonio Gimbernat’, in *Trabajos de la Cátedra de Historia Crítica de la Medicina*, vol. 5, 1934-35, p. 488.



know by Experience is not to be learn'd, but by constantly conversing with, perpetually handling and viewing the several commodities we speak of, for Years together'.<sup>204</sup> Mandeville formulates this knowledge in terms of the apprehension of the properties of the 'surfaces' of both the body and the fabrics on sale 'by seeing and feeling them'.

According to Mandeville, the busy streets of 'populous cities' were the best scenery for the experienced physician to develop his perceptual skills and to acquire his 'knowledge of Mankind'. It was there that a 'variety of Faces' offered a constant exercise for his judgement. Camper also remarked the advantages that a 'commercial city' like Amsterdam offered him to train his eyes. He described how the variety of its population provided him with examples of individuals of different ages, 'from the embryo to the oldest person', as well as natives from 'almost every country on earth'.<sup>205</sup> The method borrowed from the medical sciences provides the urban observer with 'a particular form of inferential thinking' based on the assumption of the legibility of the body.<sup>206</sup>

Lavater extended this praise of urban variety to the opportunities that 'even the most insignificant town' offered to the physiognomist to study the characters presented by 'the perpetual gathering of people'.<sup>207</sup> The knowledge of Lavater's

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<sup>203</sup> . Riera, op. cit., p. 318.

<sup>204</sup> . Mandeville, B. *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*. London: J. Tonson, 1730, pp. 76-77.

<sup>205</sup> . Camper, op. cit., 1791, pp. 9-13.

<sup>206</sup> . Jordanova, op. cit., 1989, p. 51.

<sup>207</sup> . 'N'avons-nous point toujours des Hommes sous nos yeux? Dans la ville la moins considérable il y a un concours perpétuel de monde; on y trouve des personnes dont les caractères sont ou différens, ou même entièrement opposés... leurs visages diffèrent autant que leurs caractères' (Lavater, J. G. *Essai sur la Physiognomonie*. La Haye, 1781, pp. 90-91).

works in late eighteenth-century Spain has been a subject of debate.<sup>208</sup> In 1789, the Spanish reviewer of Sulzer's works in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* added a footnote on Lavater's 'treatise on physiognomy'.<sup>209</sup> He specified that he was referring to the original Dutch edition which appeared in 1781:

According to Mr. Lavater (treatise on physiognomy, vol. I, p. 10 and 12, in Dutch), the face is without doubt the main part of the human head; it is the mirror, or better, the summarised expression of the movements of the soul. The spirit manifests itself in the forehead and in the eyelids, the goodness or the moral nature, both active and passive, is in the eyes, the cheeks and the lips, while the animal nature appears in the lower part of the face, from the lower lip to the neck.<sup>210</sup>

The marketplace is simultaneously perceived and dreaded as the domain of misleading appearances. As Honig observes, 'people were now perpetually able to, even obliged to, act out their own social roles at a market, but the old script for their performance was no longer adequate'.<sup>211</sup> The 'new' script is based on the definition of the market as 'the site where a seller's personal value is confirmed when he or she displays wares to the judgement of others'.<sup>212</sup> Emphasis should be laid on the significance of 'display' and 'judgement', since these terms suggest the ways in which a specific mode of 'reading' was demanded. It was this element of social performance and the deception involved in a context of high social mobility that

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<sup>208</sup> . See López-Rey, J. *Goya's Caprichos. Beauty, Reason & Caricature*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1970.

<sup>209</sup> . 'Berlin. Carta sexta sobre el gesto, la pantomima y la acción teatral', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios que se publican en Europa*, nº 200, 28/09/1789, p. 94.

<sup>210</sup> . 'El rostro, dice Mr. Lavater (tratado de la fisonomía, tom. I, p. 10 y 12 en holandés) es sin contradicción alguna la parte principal de la cabeza del hombre; es el espejo ó mas bien la expresión sumaria de los movimientos del alma. El espíritu se manifiesta en la frente y en los parpados, la bondad ó la naturaleza moral, así activa como pasiva, en los ojos, las mejillas y en los labios, la naturaleza animal en la parte inferior del rostro desde el labio inferior hasta el cuello' (ibid., p. 94).

<sup>211</sup> . Honig, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>212</sup> . Ibid., p. 11.

Lavater identified as 'dissimulation'. The common observer would be easily deceived by appearances, as Mandeville had already remarked:

It is with the Passions in Men as it is with Colours in Cloth: It is easy to know a Red, a Green, a Blue, a Yellow, a Black, etc. as many different Places; but it must be an Artist that can unravel all the various Colours and their Proportions, that make up the Compound of a well-mix'd Cloth.<sup>213</sup>

As an individual operating within the marketplace, the painter could profit from his knowledge of physiognomy and pathognomy. Their value was emphasized by the Spanish reviewer of Sulzer's letters. He explained how the 'expression of the passions' depended on the 'character' of the individual.<sup>214</sup> 'Character' was described as a compound of the individual's 'particular qualities' plus those derived from his or her belonging to specific national, sex and age groups. Sulzer took his analysis further by identifying what he meant by 'particular qualities', which would result from the subject's 'moral nature' combined with 'the properties of the structure and organisation of his or her body'.

Sulzer's reviewer observed that the 'expression of the passions' was also conditioned by the social class to which the individual belonged. It was in this respect that he referred to Sulzer's praise of Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's 'observations on the characters of particular classes of society'.<sup>215</sup> In the debate over physiognomy, Lichtenberg opposed Lavater and stressed the importance of interfering factors, such as the beholder's own circumstances and 'accidental

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<sup>213</sup> . Mandeville, op. cit., 1732, p. 84.

<sup>214</sup> . 'Berlín. Carta sobre el gesto, la pantomima y la accion teatral', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 198, 14/09/1789, p. 32.

<sup>215</sup> . Ibid. p. 34.

distortions', in perception.<sup>216</sup> Similar observations were made by Camper, whose theories Lichtenberg seems to have regarded with interest.<sup>217</sup>

As Hogarth and Camper had done before, Lavater mentioned the modifications that a single line could produce in the way an image is perceived and interpreted by the observer. The slightest emphasis, enlargement or shortening of a line would alter the representation of 'a face or the expression of a character'.<sup>218</sup> An example of this alteration can be found in Goya's *Wounded Mason* (fig. 29) and in the *Drunken Mason* associated with it (fig. 28). The composition remained the same in both paintings, but the change in the expression of the working men's faces transformed their meaning. An image praising Charles III's concern with the safety and well-being of his subjects was thus turned into yet another example of the people's misbehaviour.

Camper also suggested the possibilities that this use of the facial line offered to represent the alterations produced by age. Following a sequence that recalls that of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, the physician proceeded to transform an elderly face into that of a young man and also to reverse the process (fig. 30).<sup>219</sup> Camper provided minute descriptions and illustrations of how age, race or emotion determine the disposition of each line in the body and in the face (fig. 31). These changing lines and alterations are the visible signs imprinted in a mobile surface that can ultimately

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<sup>216</sup> . Bindman, op. cit., 2002, p. 114.

<sup>217</sup> . Ibid., p. 202.

<sup>218</sup> . 'Il ne faut souvent qu'un léger enfoncement où la plus petite élévation, une ligne prolongée ou recourcie, ne fut-ce que de l'épaisseur d'un cheveu ou d'un fil, -le moindre dérangement ou la moindre obliquité -pour altérer sensiblement un visage & l'expression d'un caractère' (Lavater, op. cit., 1781, p. 99).

<sup>219</sup> . 'On peut réciproquement changer la représentation du vieillard & le transformer tout à coup en un Jeune Homme. Dans la figure que nous donnons il faut seulement mettre les doigts sur la ligne

refer to the deeper, solid structure of the bones. Therefore in his dissertations addressed both to medical and to art students, Camper provided a model to understand and to represent the correspondence between the visible and the invisible aspects of the self.<sup>220</sup>

In *Castilian Costume or Interior with Laundry* and *The Rosary* (c. 1784, Madrid, Royal Palace), Paret offers his updated 'scientific' version of the three ages of man. *Castilian Costume* shows a young woman in traditional costume serving food to an elderly blind man, watched by a young boy (fig. 32). In *The Rosary*, an elderly woman is seated absorbed in prayer, her gaze lost and diverted from the spectator's (fig. 33). A very young girl is next to her at right, while a young man removes his hat and stands slightly behind at left. In both cases, the setting is a humble domestic interior with tiled floors illuminated by the light entering from a lateral window. A number of domestic objects are artfully arranged in the foreground. Paret pays minute attention to the different textures and materials. Terracotta, earthenware, glass bottles and copper pans are piled up and offered for inspection, next to cloth, bread and vegetables.

The spectator's sight becomes engaged by the accumulation of printed images: on the right, three prints are pinned in a row on the wall. They are blurred and cannot be clearly read, but the combination of text and images and their dimensions suggest the format of the calendar or almanac. A smaller print can be seen on the outer side of the wooden blinds of the window. This can be a devotional

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ponctuée, & pour lors on aura la vieillesse, que si l'on mét en suite les doigts sur la ligne pleine on verra par contre la figure d'un Jeune Homme' (Camper, op. cit., 1791, p. 74).

<sup>220</sup> . Meijer, M. C. *Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper (1722-1789)*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999.

image, since they were usually placed on what were considered as the more exposed parts of the house to protect their inhabitants. Three similar prints appear on the wall behind the heads of the praying figures. Devotional prints were usually accompanied by an inscription asserting their ‘veracity’ as ‘portraits’ of the virgin or a local saint. This deceptive use of the phrase ‘true portrait’ was deplored by *ilustrados* like Jovellanos.<sup>221</sup> It becomes a reflection on the nature of portraiture and representation when considered in relation to Paret’s physiognomic and physiological studies of his three characters.

Without precluding the use of other possible literary sources, *Castilian Costume* and *The Rosary* reinterpret the tradition of representations of the ages of man by taking into account contemporary theories on perception and physiognomy. They also reveal a concern with the classification of the population close to the taxonomic criteria of the census, whose main age groups are represented by the painter. The heads of the three characters portrayed in *Castilian Costume* can be compared with the plates illustrating Camper’s dissertation. Like Camper, Paret carefully registers not only the subtle variations in the facial features or the disposition of the skin around the eyes and the mouth caused by age or by the inner movements of the mind associated with the passions. He also marks the differences in the shape of the skull, thus studying the correspondences between the permanent and the accidental aspects conditioning the portrayal of the individual character.

The format adopted by Paret in his *Castilian Costume* and *The Rosary* is similar to that of another type of apparently genre paintings actually motivated by the

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<sup>221</sup> . Portús, J. and Vega, J. *La Estampa Religiosa en la España del Antiguo Régimen*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998, p. 128.

purpose of recording physical (racial) characteristics of the American population. 'Casta' paintings are exemplary of 'the trend to classify in the eighteenth century' while also recording the results of the Bourbon reforms implemented in New Spain and the hierarchical structure of colonial society. But, as Katzew has studied, these apparently 'scientific' images could be used as the means of constructing their self-image by the population of the Spanish colonies.<sup>222</sup>

Casta paintings 'construct racial identity through visual representation', their main aim is documenting different aspects of colonial life and are specific to New Spain. They focus on family groups to present 'a typology of human races', but they also included 'samplings of local objects' and references to local trades. Can Paret's paintings be considered as an attempt at documenting 'the people' of Madrid according to social and physiognomic criteria like those characterising casta paintings? *Castilian Costume* and *The Rosary* show arbitrary combinations of three individuals who seem to have been selected as representatives of different ages and sexes, but not necessarily as constituents of family groups.

During his stay in Puerto Rico (1775-1778), Paret produced images of the local population, such as his water-colour of a female black slave holding a white naked baby in her arms, which was incorporated to Juan de la Cruz's series (fig. 33). It evidences an interest in racial differences that could be linked to anatomical physiognomy and to the influence of the environment as determinant of the physical characteristics of the population. It is possible that, on his return to Spain, Paret subjected the figures of his genre scenes to the same parameters with which the

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<sup>222</sup> . Katzew, I. *Casta Painting: Images of race in eighteenth-century Mexico*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, p. 1.

classificatory gaze of the Bourbon administration was scrutinising the population of their overseas territories.

The way in which attention to the inner structure of the head informs Paret's portrayal of these two groups of anonymous characters reveals his scientific approach to physiognomy. His use of these theories assumes the 'readability' of nature, although the painter is aware of the deception implicit in its 'visible face', considered as an example of *trompe-l'oeil*.<sup>223</sup> As Roy Porter has suggested, this 'physiognomical gaze' offers an alternative to the 'idea of the world as stage', while also establishing links between medical humoralism and associationist psychology.<sup>224</sup> It is in this sense that Lavater's theories would have 'restored meaning to looks' by reconciling 'physiognomy (which revealed the self) and fashion (which masked it)'.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> . Porter, R. 'Making Faces: Physiognomy and Fashion in Eighteenth-century England', in *Études Anglaises*, vol. 38, n° 4, 1985, p. 386.

<sup>224</sup> . Ibid., p. 391.

<sup>225</sup> . Ibid., p. 396.



## Chapter 2. Subverting 'the picturesque'

### 1. The idea of the 'picturesque' in late eighteenth-century Spain

#### *The 'mute images of past and distant things'*

The role of Paret, Goya and the tapestry painters in the formation of what Bozal terms the 'social picturesque' has often been remarked upon.<sup>226</sup> This chapter will explore how the 'picturesque' naturalizes the 'social' in the series of images of Cantabrian ports painted by Paret during his exile in Bilbao. It examines the assimilation of the idea of the picturesque in Spain and its use to represent the uneven economic development of peripheral areas, like the Basque country.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Goya and Paret targeted an audience that cannot be identified with the traditional patronage of church or monarchy.<sup>227</sup> The lack of a thriving and influential Spanish bourgeoisie explains the vagueness with which their intended market appears characterised. Their circumstances thus differ from what is known about new forms of patronage in France or in England for the same period.<sup>228</sup> The transition from a dominant system of official promotion to the freedom of an open market is often marked by ambiguity.

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<sup>226</sup> . Bozal, op. cit., 1982, p. 33.

<sup>227</sup> . Symmons, S. *Goya: in pursuit of patronage*. London: Fraser, 1988.

<sup>228</sup> . See Solkin, op. cit., 1993 and Hemingway, A. and Vaughan, W. eds. *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Despite the readjustments in the positions of artists and customers, the instability of their relation determines changes in the choice of subjects and in the mode of representation corresponding to a different social formation.<sup>229</sup>

The increasing interest in representations of contemporary society has been associated with the taste of an emergent 'new elite' still lacking definition. In this formative period, their members were devoid of the economic means to become an effective source of patronage. How was this loosely defined group targeted by painters who were adapting themselves to the mechanisms of the market? The language that its representatives use in their projects of reform and satirical writings appropriates the discourse of experimental science and economic politics. From their perspective, any depiction of social relationships ought to adopt the authoritative tone of the documentary report. At the same time, levels of discomfort ought to be kept within the limits of the possibilities of change provided by the current system, as Jovellanos would write to Lord Holland.<sup>230</sup>

Two dissertations on popular industry and on popular education were published under Campomanes's auspices in the 1770s reflecting the anxiety that accompanied the uneasy compromise between social reform and political stability. The *Dissertation on the promotion of popular industry* was published in 1774. It defended the possibility of the harmonious coexistence of agriculture, industry and trade.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, Campomanes referred to the necessity of local societies of learned nobles and gentry who would promote the application of experimental

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<sup>229</sup> . Williams, op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>230</sup> . Azcárate, P. 'Jovellanos y Lord Holland', in *Insula*, vol. 18, nº 197, 1963, pp. 1-10.

<sup>231</sup> . Rodríguez de Campomanes, P. *Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular*. Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1774.

science to the local circumstances of daily labour. The Sociedad Bascongada was singled out as an example of the productive dependence between different social groups and their economic activities.

Campomanes's personal involvement in the promotion of the arts and sciences was praised by Townsend during his stay in Madrid in 1787. Following Campomanes's recommendation, he visited the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando, described by the minister as his 'favourite institution', and attended his celebrated *tertulias*, where he met other statesmen, writers and artists.<sup>232</sup> In these informal gatherings, conversation was supplemented with *amateur* scientific demonstrations, such as the observation of the solar eclipse reported in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* and in the *Correo de Madrid* in June 1787. Under the instructions of the Chief Engineer Antonio de Guilleman, Campomanes and his guests saw the image of the sun projected onto 'a white board' by means of the 'paralactic machine' installed in a dark chamber. The same kind of spectacle was repeated the following year for the prince heir and his family.<sup>233</sup>

The economic societies did not directly promote the 'liberal arts'. But they organised drawing lessons for artisans and, in Madrid or in Zaragoza, they created and supported drawing schools.<sup>234</sup> They represented an alternative model of patronage sensitive to the demands of a broader market, whose parallels could be found in Britain. In 1781, the economic society of Madrid was mentioned in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts* as an example of continental

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<sup>232</sup> . Townsend, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 279.

<sup>233</sup> . *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 133, 16/06/1788, pp. 46-47.

<sup>234</sup> . Demerson, J., Demerson, P. y Aguilar Piñal, F. *Las sociedades económicas de amigos del país en el siglo XVIII. Guía del investigador*. San Sebastián: CSIC, 1974.

emulation of the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. The article was quoted by James Barry in a footnote to the description of his mural paintings for the Great Room of the institution, published in 1783.<sup>235</sup> Both in the series and in his writings, Barry deals with the problem of patronage and its adaptation to the demands of a commercial society.

The Transactions of the Society of Arts for 1783 appear in the catalogue of the bookseller Antonio de Sancha in 1787.<sup>236</sup> They are quoted by Spanish scientists connected with the Academy of San Fernando, such as the chemist Domingo García.<sup>237</sup> The economic societies provided the space for the productive interaction of applied science, arts and commerce. The involvement of the local nobility and gentry in their activities also presented the possibility of a new clientele for artists without access to the opportunities offered by the Court. That was Paret's case in the 1780s, when he was still in exile from Madrid and, therefore, deprived of the court patronage that was his main support in the early years of his career.

As early as 1762, Mariano Nipho's *Estafeta de Londres* included a 'Letter on the exquisite British policy to encourage sciences, commerce, navigation and the arts'.<sup>238</sup> Nipho attributed what he regarded as the blooming state of British arts and

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<sup>235</sup> . Barry, J. *The Works of James Barry, Esq. Historical Painter*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1809, vol. 2, p. 338.

<sup>236</sup> . 'Transactions of the Society instituted at London for the encouragement of Arts, manufactures and commerce, with the Premiums offered in the year 1783' (see Sancha, op. cit., 1787).

<sup>237</sup> . Domingo García was in charge of the Royal Laboratory, where he occasionally analysed the materials used by members of the Academy of San Fernando. In 1794, he refers to Wedgwood's experiments as a part of his search for local materials that would enable Spanish products to compete with the large amounts of imported British earthenware (García Fernández, D. 'Memorial sobre un semimetal hallado en la mina de azogue de la Creu en el Reyno de Valencia, cuyo óxido presenta todas las propiedades de la nueva *Tierra de Sidney* de Mr Weedgwood [*sic*] de la Sociedad de Londres' [1794], in *Informes a S.M. y Real Junta de Comercio, Moneda y Minas*. Madrid, 1798).

<sup>238</sup> . Nipho y Cagigal, M. 'Carta III: Sobre la exquisita política de los Ingleses en el modo de animar las Ciencias, Comercio, Marina y Artes', in *Estafeta de Londres*. Madrid, 1762, pp. 71-89.

manufactures to the new forms of private patronage that appeared ‘independently of exclusive privileges, expected favours from the king or protection from the Parliament’. He identified this new patronage with the activity and influence of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, created in 1754. According to Nipho, the promotion of the arts in Britain was characterized by its funding by ‘private individuals from every class’.

The primacy of private patronage that defined the Society did not preclude, however, the benefits derived from the protection of George III and the Duke of York. Their visit in 1761 ‘to the rooms where the members of this new society gather to see the paintings, the drawings, the sculptures and the prints made by a number of artists deserving awards’ was thus reported as exemplary in the *Estafeta*.<sup>239</sup> Regardless of the specific situation of the arts in Spain, Nipho’s praise of the British model of artistic patronage must be considered within his general aim of improving every branch of the Spanish economy.

What was the role granted to the visual arts in the projects of reform of the Spanish enlightened elite? The hierarchy established by the academy of San Fernando between the dominant ‘liberal’ arts and the subordinate ‘mechanical’ arts was revised during the Bourbon administration. Economists such as Ignacio de Asso condemned all the ‘arts of luxury’ in the name of an extreme pragmatism that only tolerated those images contributing to commerce, religion or science.<sup>240</sup> Thus, in 1782, Juan Sempere y Guarinos had to recall the influence of Painting, Sculpture and

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<sup>239</sup> . ‘El Rey de Inglaterra con el Duque de York fueron el día 7 de Junio del año pasado á la Sala donde se junta esta nueva Sociedad de Inglaterra, para ver las pinturas, dibujos, estatuas y gravado de diferentes Artífices, que merecieron los premios de dicho año’ (Nipho, op. cit., 1762, p. 80).

Architecture in the improvement of manufactures as the means of justifying their existence:

The influence that these Arts exert upon those aiming either at the satisfaction of the necessities of life or at the increase of its comforts cannot be overrated. Those who see them only as mute images of past or distant things might assume that their merit is short and that they are not worth the efforts invested in their promotion. However, those who are aware that without a knowledge of drawing and the accurate apprehension of dimensions acquired by their means Mechanical Arts would have never been stripped of their primitive coarseness, or improved, will think otherwise and they will be easily persuaded of their usefulness and importance.<sup>241</sup>

What were the alternatives to the ‘mute images of past and distant things’ mentioned by Sempere? A possible answer was what he called the ‘philosophical’ study of man. This subject could be considered under two different, albeit complementary, aspects. Sempere distinguished between the study of society or ‘the civil relationships among the people’ and the study of the individual, including ‘all the secret mechanisms of his passions’.<sup>242</sup> The analysis of passions had long been part of the philosopher painter’s interests. However, in the late eighteenth century it reflected an increasing concern with the psychological ‘motivations’ of individuals and crowds. In Sempere’s essay, this knowledge becomes a rudimentary emotional engineering aimed at understanding the consumers’ behaviour and reactions of man and, hence, at acting upon them.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> . Úbeda de los Cobos, A. ‘La enseñanza de las Bellas Artes en la época de la Ilustración’, in *El Arte en las Cortes Europeas del Siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1989, p. 778.

<sup>241</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1782, pp. 276-78 (appendix 1a).

<sup>242</sup> . Ibid., pp. 53, 121.

<sup>243</sup> . Ibid., p. 121.

Paret's series of Cantabrian ports offered a response to Sempere's demands: his 'invention' concerned not only the choice of subject, but also the mode of representation. The painter philosopher could become a scientific painter by means of the redefinition of his way of looking at his subjects. This 'scientific' way of seeing was pervasive among the Basque commercial bourgeoisie, as the economist Foronda noticed to justify his frequent recourse to the language of chemistry and physics in his own writings:

Some readers will think that I use [scientific comparisons] as a sort of mathematical-physical affectation... Although I am neither a professional mathematician nor a physicist, the study of natural and exact sciences has been my delight for many years... and this vice, if it can be so called, has been transmitted to me by the wise and philosophical gentlemen of Bergara. They are so familiar with the above mentioned sciences that they discuss them in their *tertulias*, and in their walks, as if permanently gathered in an academia. As a result, even idle conversation evidences this dominant interest, and nobody frowns at those who draw upon chemistry, physics or mathematics to make comparisons and to offer explanations.<sup>244</sup>

The 'gentlemen of Bergara' among whom Foronda found a sympathetic audience were the members of the *Sociedad Bascongada*, to which he belonged. One of the founders of this economic society was Javier María de Munibe, Count of Peñaflorida (1729 – 1785), whose portrait was engraved by Carmona after a drawing

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<sup>244</sup> . 'Tal vez no faltará quien crea que empleo [comparaciones científicas] por una especie de afectación Física-Matemática... aunque no soy matemático, ni físico de profesión,... ha hecho mis delicias por varios años el estudio de las ciencias naturales y exactas... y este vicio si le es, me la han consolidado estos sabios y filósofos caballeros Bergareses, entre quienes son tan familiares las ciencias indicadas que hablan de ellas en la tertulia, y en el paseo, como se pudiera hacer en una Academia: de aquí resulta, que aun la conversación festiva se resiente de la afición dominante, sin que nadie ponga mala cara, porque uno se valga en sus alusiones y comparaciones de la química, de la física ó de las matemáticas' (Foronda, V. 'Sobre la utilidad de los buenos caminos y de los canales' (1788), in *Cartas sobre los asuntos más exquisitos de la economía-política y sobre las leyes criminales*. Madrid, 1789-94, vol. 2, pp. 50-51).

by Paret about 1785.<sup>245</sup> The painter's friend José Ruíz de Luzuriaga undertook a campaign of inoculation against small pox in the Basque country supported by the *Sociedad Bascongada*, whose meetings he attended. This was the newly created public conversant with scientific language and with the latest economic theories for whom Paret worked in the 1780s.<sup>246</sup>

During this decade, Paret's interest in artistic theory and aesthetics assumed a new scientific content, evidenced in his use of optics and physiognomy. In 1715, Palomino had included physiognomy among the abilities of the painter philosopher. His notions of physiognomy, however, were still indebted to the tradition of the humours and temperaments.<sup>247</sup> But by the 1780s, the practice of physiognomy received a new interpretation. The visible world appeared as a limitless field of inquiry for the inquisitive gaze of the painter, turned into scientific observer of men and nature. Paret's works offer a visual essay on what Lavater called 'the language of surfaces': the well-trained eye of the painter reads the external signs rendered visible by means of the interplay of light and colour.<sup>248</sup>

Like the fairs and marketplaces represented by Goya, the busy ports depicted by Paret resemble the scenery defined by Lavater as the perfect field of research for the 'physiognomist'. In towns and villages, the 'impartial and wise observer' finds under his or her eyes a constant change of both characters and faces.<sup>249</sup> The overwhelming diversity in this flow of visual data requires an observer endowed with

<sup>245</sup> . BN, IH/6312/1. Engraved by Manuel Salvador Carmona after Paret. See Páez Ríos, E., coord. *Iconografía Hispana*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1966, cat. 6312-1.

<sup>246</sup> . Blanco, op. cit., pp. 306-316.

<sup>247</sup> . Moffit, J. F. 'Francisco Goya, Antonio Palomino, *caractère*, and the state-portrait of Count of Floridablanca', in *Korothistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 1, no 3, 1981, p. 130. See also Brook, C. 'Francisco Goya: la problematica dell'espressione', in *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, no 71, 2000, pp. 79-81.



specific perceptual skills and training. Lavater's work provides a complete list of the qualities of this ideal observer granted a dominant position within the field of vision.<sup>250</sup>

How could the role of the scientific observer be identified with that of the spectator in Paret's series? Campomanes's analysis of the state of the Spanish people around 1774 suggests that images of prosperity like those represented by Paret still belonged to the imaginary realm of the projector's view of society. In his preface, the minister tries to dispel the 'odious' connotations of the figure of the projector, which resulted from the 'monstrous mistakes' caused by former 'economic projects'. In order to distinguish his own projects of reform from these 'chimeras', he intends to 'keep in sight what is either compatible or repulsive to the general good'.<sup>251</sup> The statement functions as a disclaimer by means of which Campomanes also tries to avoid the negative implications of the private interests associated with the tradesman. An alternative is provided by the figure of the disinterested observer, whose detachment is compatible with his concern with the common good.

Once Campomanes outlined the figure of his ideal observer, he proceeded to describe the object of his gaze. His laborious peasants recalled an ideal of rural life that also appears in the works of other *ilustrados*, such as Jovellanos. Their writings usually dwell upon the contrast between the impoverished workers of Spanish central plains and the welfare of those people working in Northern areas. 'Picturesque' is a term often used by Ponz, Jovellanos and other travellers in Spain to describe

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<sup>248</sup> . Lavater, vol. 1, p. 91.

<sup>249</sup> . Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>250</sup> . Ibid., pp. 126-127.

<sup>251</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1774, pp. cl-clxiv.

favourably the land and the people submitted to their observation during their expeditions.<sup>252</sup> But the term 'picturesque' was also understood as involving the alteration or embellishment of a supposedly 'accurate' image. This was the meaning it had for the author of the 'Political-economic discourse on the means to restore industry, agriculture and population in Spain', published in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in March 1789. The article describes the changes that would be brought upon the landscape if the reforms that he proposes were implemented:

The same places that at present we cannot tread without fear and disgust, where the bandit and the murderer inflict their barbarous and merciless assaults, will become a quiet and welcoming home for the honest citizen, for the innocent maid, for rustic simplicity and virtues... This is not just a picturesque image, devoid of the necessary realist shading. Large areas in Cataluña, Navarra, Vizcaya and especially in Guipúzcoa provide the evidence of its possibility. The latter, rendered barren and bare by the roughness of the country and the quality of its land, offers a mirror of what can and must be done for the promotion of agriculture in the benefit of both the State and its individuals.<sup>253</sup>

What does 'picturesque' mean in this context? Unlike British and French travellers in the peninsula, these authors did not associate the picturesque quality of the Spanish landscape with roughness and 'wilderness'. The Spanish idea of the picturesque was connected with the visible results of a specific model of economic development rarely found in Spain. The 'picturesque' view of the northern regions

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<sup>252</sup> . Jovellanos, G. M. *Obras Completas*, ed. J. Caso González. Oviedo: Centro de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, 1984.

<sup>253</sup> . 'Aquellos lugares mismos que ahora no se pueden pisar sin terror y espanto y en que ahora se exercita la bárbara impiedad del salteador y del asesino serán después la mansion quieta y apacible del honesto ciudadano, de la inocente doncella, de la rústica simplicidad y de la virtud... No es ésta, no, una imagen pintoresca, sin las debidas sombras de realidad. En muchas partes de Cataluña, Navarra, Vizcaya y principalmente en Gypuzcoa, está patente la prueba de su certidumbre: aquel país áspero y estéril por lo fragoso del terreno y calidad de sus tierras nos presenta un espejo de lo que se puede y debe hacer para el fomento de la agricultura con beneficio del Estado y de los particulares' ('Madrid. Carta de D. J. Ugartiria á un amigo suyo fuera de la Corte, en que se incluye un Discurso económico-

provided an ideal model of economic and social development for the rest of the country. Its assumption of a harmonious coexistence of agriculture and trade was, however, strongly debated.

*'Improving and beautifying the face of the country'*

Why was the language of the picturesque suitable to deal with the representational difficulties encountered by Bourbon officers? The response can partly be found in the context of the debate that the notion of the picturesque was undergoing in Britain at the time.<sup>254</sup> Competing definitions of 'picturesqueness' suggested its potential for the inclusion of formerly excluded elements, such as the people, within the emergent discourse of economic reform. The terms in which such inclusion was effected are, however, debatable, as John Barrell argues.<sup>255</sup>

The images that Spanish spectators could associate with the picturesque can be defined with respect to three possible –and compatible– interpretations of the term. Despite its vagueness, 'picturesque' was frequently the word chosen to describe the prints used in the optical shows advertised in Madrid newspapers, as will be seen in chapter three.<sup>256</sup> The second category corresponded to imported prints representing landscapes or views and genre scenes. Novelty and variety were two of the

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político sobre los medios de restaurar la industria, agricultura y poblacion de España', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 171, 09/03/1789, pp. 969 – 970).

<sup>254</sup> . See 'Introduction' to Copley and Garside, op. cit., pp. 1-12.

<sup>255</sup> . Barrell, J. *The Dark Side of the Landscape. The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 51.

characteristics of these images, which allowed accommodating the representation of formerly excluded economic activities.<sup>257</sup> Visible signs of economic change could be thus integrated and rendered coherent within an existing tradition. But the picturesque could also be considered as a form of inquiry into new conditions of perception.<sup>258</sup> Its concern with the spectator's reactions to visual stimuli was regarded as a consequence of the quickening pace of aesthetic perception.<sup>259</sup> The picturesque would register the effects that the rhythm imposed by the taste for novelty and the constant change of fashions and patterns of consumption had on representation. Finally, the picturesque involved the adoption of codes –though ever changing, debated, continually reworked- that contributed to policing vision. The spectator could take distance not only from its object, but also from his or her own act of perception, which he or she learned to consider independently of his or her role as the perceiving subject. Gilpin's accounts of the moves and reactions of the 'picturesque eye' to different objects exemplify this detachment.<sup>260</sup>

In 1788, Jovellanos's friend Alexander Jardine, the British consul in La Coruña, wrote that 'one of the few pleasures of travelling through Spain may consist in indulging the fancy in this species of castle-building, in improving and beautifying the face of the country'.<sup>261</sup> Later he added that during his trips through northern Spain his head was 'full of these romantic ideas and planning, as I rode along,

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<sup>256</sup> . Varey, J. E. *Cartelera de los Títeres y otras Diversiones Populares de Madrid, 1758-1840*. Madrid: Támesis, 1995.

<sup>257</sup> . Copley, 'William Gilpin and the black-lead mine' in Copley and Garside, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>258</sup> . Michasiw, K. I. 'Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque', in *Representations*, 38, 1992, pp. 76-100.

<sup>259</sup> . Robinson, S. *Inquiry into the Picturesque*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 8.

<sup>260</sup> . Gilpin, W. *Observations on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. reprinted. Richmond: Richmond Publishing Co., 1973, p. xiii.

<sup>261</sup> . Jardine, A. *Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal, &c. by an English Officer*. London: T. Cadell, 1788, p. 20.

various schemes of improvement'.<sup>262</sup> Jardine's remarks reveal the conflict implicit in the position of the picturesque tourist, 'unconstrained by the economic disciplines which govern the conduct of the population in the country though which they pass'.<sup>263</sup>

Jardine was a foreigner who could only exercise the imaginative appropriation of the Spanish landscape available to spectators trained in the picturesque way of seeing. But the use of this discourse was more complicated for the officers in charge of surveying the same land and people to implement economic reforms. Spanish *ilustrados* could not enjoy the 'freedom of disgressive travel' that Copley identifies with the picturesque tourist. This imported language nevertheless conditioned not only their way of seeing and of representing the country, but also the way they envisaged its transformation.

As Bermingham observes, the picturesque could appeal to those spectators who, like the *ilustrados*, were intellectually influential but deprived of the actual economic means to transform the land.<sup>264</sup> They were, however, endowed with the cultural means to shape its perception in a way similar to Jardine's fanciful 'improving and beautifying' the country. The picturesque acknowledged the importance of mediation between viewer and nature. Optical gadgets and printed albums could thus be used to avoid the perceptual difficulties encountered by the spectator exposed to a multiplicity of new objects.<sup>265</sup> Nevertheless, Gilpin was aware of the ambivalence of the mirror as a form of mediation when he objected to the

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<sup>262</sup> . Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>263</sup> . Copley and Garside, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>264</sup> . Bermingham, A. *Landscape and Ideology: the English rustic tradition, 1740-1860*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, p. 72.

‘modified vision’ that the picturesque tourist could acquire through this optical gadget. He asserted that ‘nature has given us a better apparatus, for viewing objects in a picturesque light; than any the optician can furnish’.<sup>266</sup>

‘Picturesqueness’ was reckoned as a commercial asset of British prints, of which considerable amounts were imported into Spain during the late eighteenth century. Reproducing the picturesque repertory of conventions and techniques thus became a strategy to improve the commercial appeal of Spanish prints. Campomanes’s second appendix to his dissertation on popular education refers specifically to printmaking. Prints would be listed in his work among those manufactures whose promotion depends not only on an adequate training, but also on a ‘general effort to encourage the preference for national products by rendering them fashionable’.<sup>267</sup> As ‘fashionable’ products, they were subjected to what were increasingly recognized as the forces of the market.

What factors regulated the market in late eighteenth-century Spain? Sempere’s *History of Luxury* focused on the connections between taste and consumption to provide a very general and tentative answer. He observed that consumers’ behaviour was motivated not only by ‘the general passion for anything new and exquisite’, but also by emulation. This emulative pattern could apply to individuals and nations. Their reciprocal exchanges spread the knowledge of ‘products and materials’ that ‘provoke the desire and foster their consumption’ in

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<sup>265</sup> . Bermingham, op. cit., 1994, p. 81.

<sup>266</sup> . Sloan, K. *A Noble Art: Amateur artists and drawing masters c.1600-1800*. London: British Museum Press, 2000, p. 175.

<sup>267</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1775, vol. 3, p. lxvii-lxix (appendix 5b).

other countries.<sup>268</sup> According to Sempere, the state of national industries and manufactures made Spanish consumers especially vulnerable to these commercial strategies.

With an emerging Francophile market in mind, Spanish craftsmen were sent to Lyon to copy French patterns that would be reproduced in the silk factories of Valencia.<sup>269</sup> French manufactures were still leading the market of luxury commodities, although the trend changed during the 1780s. Even within the context of the Family Pact, the general mood was against commercial treaties with France. In 1787, a letter from the Spanish ambassador in London to Eugenio Llaguno reveals his unwillingness to 'treaties with France less than with anyone else, because far from buying our products, and unlike the British, the French manage to sell us even wine and olive oil'.<sup>270</sup>

How could the picturesque contribute to the new elite's aims? Jovellanos was aware of the commercial dimension of the 'picturesque' when he wrote that its productions 'make artists more valued, offer continuous employment to draughtsmen, printmakers, painters, sculptors and architects [and] promote their zeal and emulation'.<sup>271</sup> His praise of the commercial appeal of the picturesque did not

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<sup>268</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1788, p. 209.

<sup>269</sup> . Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>270</sup> . 'Toda mi vida he estado contra Tratados... con Francia mas que con nadie, porque lexos de tomarnos frutos nuestros, como siquiera hacen los Yngleses, nos encajan hasta vinos y aceites' (AGS, Secc. Estado, leg. 8157).

<sup>271</sup> . '¿Cuánto no influirá también en la instrucción de los artistas el estudio de tantas curiosas descripciones y la observación de tantos bellos monumentos, recogidos con diligencia, dibujados con exactitud y publicados con la mayor magnificiencia y gusto?... tantas y tan varias empresas hacen más apreciados y buscados los artistas,... ofrecen continuo empleo a dibujantes, grabadores, pintores, escultores y arquitectos,... excitan su emulación y su celo...' (Jovellanos, G. M. 'Memorias Histórico-Artísticas' (1804), in *Obras publicadas e inéditas de Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*. Madrid: Atlas, 1951-56, p. 379).

preclude his attribution of its success to 'the application of philosophy to the analysis of beauty', which he regarded as characteristic of British art.<sup>272</sup>

In Jovellanos's view, the Spanish school of painting would acquire its 'philosophical' character only by reducing 'the distance between the philosopher painter and the naturalist'.<sup>273</sup> He recommended the study of the operations of the mind and the practice of the experimental method that had turned Britain into a 'philosophical nation'.<sup>274</sup> When applied to the visual arts, this philosophy consisted of a combination of the 'ideal' and the 'natural' styles that he considered characteristic of British art. In Jovellanos's writings on the current state of the British school, Gilpin's theory of the picturesque was singled out as its 'appendix and pinnacle':

[The] observations [of the English] are not restricted to the fine and the mechanical arts, but they are applied to all what is beautiful, sublime and picturesque in nature, be this free and slovenly or improved and embellished by human hands. This was the origin of the study of the *picturesque*, which Mr. Gilpins [*sic*] has turned into an art. This learned man established and organised the principles of the true picturesque taste, which he proved with many reflections and examples, thus determining its method of study.<sup>275</sup>

Jovellanos's praise of Gilpin as 'erudite' contrasts with his 'traditional dismissal... as a serious theorist' in Britain, where Gilpin's manuals shared the status

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<sup>272</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> . Bozal, V. *Goya y el Gusto Moderno*. Madrid: Alianza, 1994, p. 30.

<sup>274</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1804, p.381.

<sup>275</sup> . 'Sus observaciones no se reducen ya a los objetos de las artes bellas y mecánicas, sino que se extienden a cuanto presenta de bello, grande y raro la naturaleza, ora libre y desaliñada, ora mejorada y ataviada por la mano del hombre. De aquí nació el estudio del *pintoresco*, que Mr. Gilpins [*sic*] ha erigido ya en arte. Este erudito, estableciendo y ordenando los principios del buen gusto pintoresco, y confirmándolos con muchas reflexiones y ejemplos, determinó y fijó el método de estudiarle' (ibid., p. 377).



of other fashionable commodities available to the picturesque tourists.<sup>276</sup> As Jovellanos's writings suggest, Gilpin's picturesque was associated in Spain with the currents of thought loosely assembled under the rubric of 'new philosophy'.<sup>277</sup> Jovellanos himself emphasised the associationist and sensationalist elements of the picturesque that connect it with contemporary theories on perception.

At least two copies of the French translation of Gilpin's *Observations on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* were listed in the inventory of the Academy of San Fernando around 1800.<sup>278</sup> This work had first been published in London in 1786, but Spanish readers would have had easier access to the French translation that appeared two years later. As explained in the *Observations*, the picturesque provided a template for the application of 'the formulaic' over the number of separate, diverse objects presented to the eye under the idea of 'the singular'.<sup>279</sup>

Despite their differences, both Paret's and Goya's depiction of 'the people' in the 1780s have been regarded as 'picturesque'.<sup>280</sup> This was the word chosen by Ceán Bermúdez to describe Paret's drawings.<sup>281</sup> The subjects of Goya's tapestry cartoons have been similarly defined.<sup>282</sup> Successive editions of the dictionary of the Spanish Academy published in the 1780s did not register any change in the traditional

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<sup>276</sup> . Michasiw, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>277</sup> . Pagden, A. 'The reception of the 'new philosophy' in eighteenth-century Spain', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 51, 1988, p.139.

<sup>278</sup> . Navarrete Martínez, E. *La Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la Pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999.

<sup>279</sup> . Krauss, R. *The originality of the avant-garde and other modernist myths*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1985, p. 166.

<sup>280</sup> . Bozal, op. cit., 1994, p. 20.

<sup>281</sup> . Ceán Bermúdez, J. A., *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*. Madrid, 1800.

<sup>282</sup> . A recent example can be found in Hughes, op. cit., p. 88.

meaning of *pintoresco* as ‘pertaining to Painting or Painters’.<sup>283</sup> However, there are reasons to believe that this term was adopting similar connotations as those of its English equivalent: in 1788, ‘picturesque’ was also defined as ‘a graceful and singular selection of the effects of nature, derived from both taste and reason’.<sup>284</sup>

The picturesque endowed Paret’s and Goya’s works with the commercial appeal that was favoured by the *ilustrados*. Painters working in the margins of traditional patronage or searching for broader audiences than that of the Court were bound to face questions regarding their role within the project of Spanish enlightenment. The picturesque appeared in this context as a flexible set of theories and principles that legitimated their exploration of new genres and new forms of representation.

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<sup>283</sup> . *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua*. Madrid, 1783, p. 740.

<sup>284</sup> . ‘Defínese este término: ‘una elección graciosa y singular de los efectos de la naturaleza, hija del gusto y de la razón’ (Martínez, F. *Introducción al conocimiento de las Bellas Artes, o Diccionario manual de Pintura, Escultura, Arquitectura, Grabado, etc.* Madrid: Escribano, 1788, p. 324).

## 2. Representing commercial society

### *Projectors: the image-makers*

In his 1786 self-portrait, Luis Paret appears elegantly dressed in his studio (fig. 35). Seated on a rich chair he leans on his left hand and holds a white piece of paper in the right. Rich fabrics, carved and gilded wood, reflective table glass, all contribute to the sense of the luxury and comfort of the artist's workplace. This sort of self-image might refer to his social status and to the dignity of Painting. Additionally, there is an emphasis on expensive (possibly imported) fabrics and materials that can be associated with current debates about consumption.

Paret's pale face is highlighted against the dark background of a canvas on which he seems to have been working. Although there are many references to his professional activity, he is not actually painting. The large canvas remains on the easel and it is difficult to determine whether it is finished. The red curtains half-envelop and frame the painting. In the foreground, a palette is lying at his feet; he is not looking at or pointing to the canvas. Paret seems to have paused in his study of a map to look at the viewer. The map is on a table upon which are writing materials and other books. Books and portfolios with drawings or prints are scattered on the floor, near to two classical busts and a straw hat. Paret represents himself as a man of learning. More specifically, the head resting on his hand is among the traditional

conventions for representing melancholy, as a characteristic of the man of thought.<sup>285</sup> The figure with which the painter identifies himself appears to be that of the 'painter-philosopher'. But Paret invests this ideal with the 'naturalist' connotations that Jovellanos had given to the term, as has been seen.

Paret's self-portrait both contributes to and problematizes the construction of a model of observer with the authority to represent commercial society. The self-reflective nature of his melancholic figure calls into question the 'aloofness and disengagement' that Bryson attributes to the 'punctual viewing subject' of the gaze.<sup>286</sup> As defined by Crary, the 'observer' is 'one who sees within a prescribed set of possibilities, one who is embedded in a system of conventions and limitations'.<sup>287</sup> How did Paret locate himself within such a system?

Throughout his series of portraits, Paret fashions himself in the guise of the detached observer of society. Disinterestedness would be a prerequisite to assert his authority to represent commercial society as harmonious and 'natural'. How does a painter with no access to the usual sources of patronage avoid the negative connotations of the marketplace? Assuming the qualities of the melancholic philosopher and the man of science would help to relocate him in a dominant position as observer.

Contemporary debates on the reliability of sight denied the equation of illusion and deception that (both in art and science) lay at the core of 'naturalism'.

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<sup>285</sup> . Calvo Serraller, F. *Luis Paret y Alcázar, 1746-1799*. Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1996, p.31. See also Jordanova, L. *Defining Features. Scientific and medical portraits 1660-2000*. London: Reaktion and National Portrait Gallery, 2000, p. 41.

<sup>286</sup> . Bryson, N. *The Logic of the Gaze*. London: MacMillan, 1983, pp. 94-96.

The 'naturalist' could be satirized as the ill equipped observer misled by his or her defective perception. But he could also be identified with the quack, whose ability to deceive relied upon the importance of appearances in a commercial society. In the turmoil created by delusive signs, conspicuous consumption would be one of the effects of what Stafford has called 'visual quackery'.<sup>288</sup>

Delusion, mistaken calculations and erroneous judgement became commonplace to characterize the figure of enlightened 'projectors' or *proyectistas* such as Campomanes or Jovellanos. As the former himself regrets, 'colossal mistakes' caused by 'badly assimilated systems' were to blame for the general distrust towards any new project in Spain.<sup>289</sup> Many of Paret's and Goya's patrons were identified by their contemporaries with the new social type of the projector or reformer. The author of the *Libro de Moda* described him as the 'young man who stands out in the Prado, who makes those looking at him jealous, who is sought after and taken as a model, as the leader of fashion, who maintains correspondence with foreigners to know what has been invented and improved and to be recognized as the first one to bring it to Madrid'.<sup>290</sup> In this pamphlet, the new elite's concern with empirical methods was also parodied by means of the figure of the *filósofo currutaco*, or 'foppish philosopher'.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> . Crary, op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>288</sup> . Stafford, B. M. *Body Criticism: imagining the unseen in Enlightenment art and medicine*, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992, p. 362.

<sup>289</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1774, p. 150.

<sup>290</sup> . 'Veis ese joven que sobresale en el Prado, que llena de envidia á quantos le miran, que es buscado como el modelo, como la ley de la moda, que mantiene correspondencia en los paises extrangeros para saber lo que se inventa de mejor, y tener el lauro de ser el primero en llevarlo á Madrid' (Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., p. 44).

<sup>291</sup> . Andioc, R. 'Goya y el Temperamento Currutáquico', in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 67, 1991, pp. 67-89.

Foppish 'new men' could be easily identified because of their 'foreign' attire and their affected deportment. Because they had a damaging effect on national manufactures and trade, their dependence on foreign fashions was one of the satirist's main concerns. He connected the appearance of this group with their aping of the attitudes and gestures learned through 'foreign prints'.<sup>292</sup> This remark would help to explain the adoption of the conventions of British portraiture by Spanish painters such as Goya.<sup>293</sup> This negative influence was not restricted to manners and appearances. The *Libro de Moda* associated the foppish philosopher's eccentric claims to truth with the stereotype of the 'English milord' in order to satirize the empiricist content of the fashionable 'science of the *boudoir*'. The members of this emergent group are described in the *Libro de Moda* in the same attitude and dress as Goya's image of Jovellanos (fig. 36) and as Paret's self-portrait:

Occupying the whole chair, he stretches his thighs and legs, he passes one foot over the other... His feet keep the second movement of the minuet. The chair is slightly turned. His back is not leaning on the back of the chair, but to one side. His right arm leans on it. He leans his head, which rests a little on his hand... This attitude is very graceful and *very visual when well executed*.<sup>294</sup>

The portrait of Jovellanos by Goya is not satirical. However, the potential identification of the sitter with the description of the foppish philosopher evidences

<sup>292</sup> . 'Los Teatros, los Maestros *Currutacos*, y las estampas extranjeras que representan los diversos ayres y tonos de moda, son los originales donde debe estudiarse. La experiencia, la consulta reflexiva y meditada con el espejo, la observacion, lo acaban de perfeccionar' (Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., p.69).

<sup>293</sup> . Wolf, R. *Francisco de Goya and the interest in British art and aesthetics in late eighteenth-century Spain*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 1990.

<sup>294</sup> . 'Llenando bien la silla, estirando los muslos y piernas, pasando un pié sobre otro... Los pies están en segunda postura de minuet. La silla se pone de medio lado. La espalda estará al ayre, el respaldo sirve para echarse de lado. El brazo derecho se apoya sobre el respaldo. La cabeza se inclina y cae un poco sobre la mano... Esta postura es muy graciosa, y *tiene visualidad quando está bien executada*' (Fernández de Rojas, p.79).

the instability of the set of conventions shaping male portraiture at the time. The external signs of moral authority and the supposedly superior insight of the ruler are not guaranteed by the costume or the context. The ambiguous position of Jovellanos as an anglophile reformer conflates what Haidt defines as the two 'key configurations of masculinity within Spanish Enlightenment discourse'.<sup>295</sup> His portrait embodies the conflict between the foreign tastes, ideas and fashions that could be satirized as 'foppish' and the sobriety of the *hombre de bien*, or traditional Spanish gentleman.

Though clearly not that of a fop, the co-texts operating in Goya's portrait of Jovellanos render the statesman's image problematic when read against the description of this social type in the *Libro de Moda*. The struggle for hegemony among different sectors of the Spanish elite was set within the realm of their unstable signs and symbols. Similarly, in Goya's depiction of the Duchess of Osuna, her fashionable attire and deportment denote her cosmopolitanism and openness to foreign influences as desirable qualities for a reformed Spanish aristocracy. However, these signs can also evidence a taste for foreign goods, like the large painted buttons decorating her dress, and for conspicuous consumption identified as specifically female and linked to social irresponsibility. The *Libro de Moda* reveals how through the interstices of its chosen visual language, the elite's self-image becomes subjected to multiple, sometimes unwanted, readings.

The foppish philosopher's distinctive appearance was matched by the disorder of his mind.<sup>296</sup> The satirist attributes defective judgement, an inclination to

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<sup>295</sup> . Haidt, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>296</sup> . Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., p. 11.

misapplied analysis and mistaken taste to this man of fashion, who defines himself as a 'naturalist' and as an enthusiastic reader of Condillac.<sup>297</sup> His reliance only on 'Anglo-French opinions' and on his senses would lead him to mock established values, like ideal beauty.<sup>298</sup> The fop's dismissal of Greek and Roman sculptures as models of female beauty recalls Hogarth's remarks on the same subject in his *Analysis of Beauty* and, hence, an aesthetic relativism associated with British empiricism.<sup>299</sup>

Why did Spanish *ilustrados* and their painters turn toward English sources? The answer might be found in the social upheavals caused by an uneven adoption of modern economic principles in late eighteenth-century Spain. In 1762, Nipho's *Estafeta de Londres* warned its readers against the '*Inglomania*, that is, the excessive passion for everything English' comparing it to 'a disease that has destroyed many spirits, has ruined many benefits, has exhausted considerable efforts and, finally, has reduced [Spain] almost to despair'.<sup>300</sup> However, the author himself falls prey to the same influence when praising his object of study as an example of what a 'military, commercial and philosophical' nation should be.<sup>301</sup> The increasing 'Anglomania' of

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<sup>297</sup> . Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>298</sup> . 'Fiado en anglo-galas opiniones / El Modernuelo la cuchilla esgrime' (*Sátira chistosa*, p. 7).

<sup>299</sup> . 'No olvideis de hacer una sublime disertacion física y filosófica, probándonos que... las Mugeres espantosas que ahora nos parecen desagradables, son unos prodigios de hermosura... y tan buenos modelos para formar la estatua de Venus, como los que presentaba la antigua Grecia. Decid que no hay ni hermoso, ni feo real. Que todo es ilusion. Que nuestras ideas son de convencion y capricho; que pueden facilmente mudarse' [Don't forget writing a sublime physical and philosophical dissertation to prove that... ugly women that we consider now plain, are actually prodigiously beautiful... and as suitable to pose as models for a Venus as those found in Ancient Greece. Say that there is neither real beauty nor real ugliness. That everything is illusion. That our ideas are all convention and whim and that they can change easily' (Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., pp.13-14).

<sup>300</sup> . 'Regularmente, y aun entre los instruidos, se padece en nuestra Península la perniciosa dolencia de *Inglomania*, esto es, pasion inconsiderada por la Inglaterra: enfermedad, que ha quitado muchos espíritus, ha destruido innumerables provechos, ha extenuado considerables fuerzas; y, por último, ha reducido casi al desaliento á la mas esforzada, rica, generosa y varonil Potencia del mundo' (Nipho, op. cit., 1762, p. 23).

<sup>301</sup> . 'Es mucho objeto para la meditacion de un verdadero Político una Nacion que, no obstante sus extravagancias, merece los decorosos dictados de Guerrera, Comerciante y Philosopha' (ibid., p. 16).



the 1780s helped the promoters of social and economic reforms to propose the British model in support of their theories and to emulate its 'efforts ... to rewrite the language of virtue to accommodate the realities of trade'.<sup>302</sup>

The characterization of the foppish philosopher as a 'naturalist' attributed his incapacity to reach ideal beauty to the limitations of fashionable empiricism. Such dependence would involve a model of perception based on the unequal relation between eye and mind. Their balance could also be reversed with disastrous consequences for the observer. A scene often depicted by Goya –the young man deceived by a woman's appearance<sup>303</sup>– satirizes the indiscriminating reliance on 'external signs' that the *Libro de Moda* identifies with the 'naturalist'.<sup>304</sup> The observer whose mind fails to exercise any control over his sight has his 'soul ... settled in his eyes, in his tongue, in his hands, but not in his brain'.<sup>305</sup>

In the *Libro de Moda*, the operations of the fop's defective mind are further compared with the artful disorder of the 'picturesque' garden.<sup>306</sup> This characterization was not only intellectual, but also moral. Brilliancy and display, superficial effects, lightness, speed and movement are the terms the author chooses

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<sup>302</sup> . Solkin, op. cit., 1993, p. 19.

<sup>303</sup> . Wilson Bareau, J. *Goya. Drawings from his private albums*. London: Hayward Gallery, 2001.

<sup>304</sup> . 'Unos bufones adornan con las mugeriles galas á una disforme y corpulenta burra... Se pasea por el Prado... Aquí, Naturalista mío, qué animal es aquel que se adelanta hacia nosotros?- Necia pregunta. Qué hay que dudar?... No lo veis?... Una mujer, una dama; si quereis una *Currutaca*- Ah grosero! Ah bruto! Es una hembra de tu especie, es una borrica. Sí, una borrica... Acércate, obsérvala, quítale el ropage, analízala... Ah! Sí, me engañé. Me equivocaron los signos exteriores' ['Some knaves get a shapeless and large mule dressed in female attire... She walks around the Prado... Listen, Naturalist, which species does the animal walking towards us belong to? –Silly question. Why do you hesitate? Cannot you see it? It is a woman, a lady, a *Currutaca*, if you want- Ah, shameless! Ah, brute! She is a female of your breed, she is an ass. Yes, a donkey... Come near, observe her, strip her off her clothes, analyze her... Ah! Yes, I was wrong. I was misled by the external signs'] (Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., p. 22).

<sup>305</sup> . 'Su alma reside ya en los ojos, ya en la extremidad de la lengua, ya en las manos, ya en los pies; jamas en el cerebro' (ibid., p. 28).

<sup>306</sup> . Ibid., p. 11.

to define him.<sup>307</sup> They are paired with illusion, fickleness, deception, artfulness, falsity and deceit:

Man is endowed with understanding and, more specifically, with judgement: he is a *rational* being. Both things mean nothing to the *Currutaco*. A subtle and flammable spark that some people call *Spirit*, a little memory, much imagination and caprice. An unlimited, absolute will too. These are the qualities of the *Currutaco*'s soul. Man thinks, reflects and studies, he loves steadiness. The *Currutaco* is prey to delirium, he is superficial and fickle. His soul becomes air and vapour... There are neither reason nor reflection. On the contrary, everything is madness and extravagance.<sup>308</sup>

In a parody of treatises on natural history, the author of the *Libro de Moda* offers a taxonomy of the different types of *currutacos*. Fops could be found in every social group. However, the 'true' representatives of the type would be rich landowners, the sons of nouveau riches, the 'favourites of powerful ladies', 'English *milores*' and Italian marquises. Slightly lower in the social scale were bureaucrats, lawyers, clerks, small landowners and 'a few abbots'. Significantly, this was also the social background of most members of the new elite, whose qualifications contrasted with their often precarious finances and lesser positions of political responsibility. The emergent social group were searching for representational strategies that could redress inequality without compromising social stability.

<sup>307</sup> . For the negative connotations of these terms, see Kriz, K. D. *The Idea of the English Landscape Painter. Genius as Alibi in the Early Nineteenth Century*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 6, 27.

<sup>308</sup> . 'El hombre tiene entendimiento, y sobre todo, juicio: es animal *razonable*. Dos cosas cero para el *Currutaco*. Una chispa sutil e inflamable, que llaman algunos *Espíritu*, un poco de memoria, mucho de imaginacion y capricho. Tambien una voluntad absoluta e ilimitada. Estas son las potencias de una alma *Currutaca*. El hombre piensa, medita, y estudia, ama la solidez. El *Currutaco* delira, es superficial e inconstante. Su espíritu se exhala y evapora... No hay razon ni reflexion. Al contrario, todo en él es locura, extravagancia' (Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., pp. 27-28).

In Paret's self portrait, the carefully positioned map can be connected with a tradition of allegories of the sense of sight. Despite their role as instruments of knowledge that allow one to see what is otherwise invisible, maps and travel books involved an element of artifice and deception also satirized in the *Libro de Moda*.<sup>309</sup> The satirist targets specifically the 'descriptions of the superb cities Ecbatanes, Thebes, Persepolis, Palmyra'.<sup>310</sup> The publication of these collections of printed views had been praised by Jovellanos as an example of the English picturesque and of its genius in the 'combination of nature and art'. Jovellanos selected them to illustrate the origins of the 'study of the *picturesque* that Mr Gilpin has already turned into an art'.<sup>311</sup>

In Paret's self-portrait, the light coming from the left falls on the corner of the map placed nearest the viewer creating a neatly demarcated area that contrasts with the prevailing darkness in the studio. The triangular lighter area remains slightly inconsistent within the interplay of light and shadow of the scene. It can appear as a merely functional sign contributing to the 'effect of the real' or as an example of Bryson's definition of denotation. But if considered through Bal's readings of both authors, the lighted corner becomes a self-referential sign that suggests the textuality of the image.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> . Ibid., pp. 52-53.

<sup>310</sup> . Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>311</sup> . 'Pocok ilustró los monumentos de Egipto; la Sociedad Real, los de Palmyra: Steward, los de Atenas; Limsden, los de Roma y Herculano; Chandler los de Jonia; Jones y Mauricelas, antigüedades indianas y persianas... Otra afición... ha nacido de estos viajes: la de abrazar y combinar la naturaleza con el arte... De aquí nació el estudio del *pintoresco*, que Mr Gilpins [sic] ha erigido ya en arte' (Jovellanos, op. cit., 1804, p. 377).

<sup>312</sup> . Bal, M. *Reading 'Rembrandt'. Beyond the word-image opposition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 218.

Why would Paret emphasise the reality of the map? The answer could be found in the small framed picture hanging on the rocks within the oval canvas, which functions as a 'metapicture' or self-reflective image.<sup>313</sup> The painting has been identified as one of the Basque ports in which Paret was working at the time, whereas the oval shipwreck complies with the aesthetic of the sublime. Paret's painting becomes a reflection on representation and also on the affinity between extreme realism and spectacular illusion. A wave breaks against the rocks, its white foam going beyond the irregular edge of the canvas and blurring its separation from the wooden stretcher. The 'illusion of reality' is thus disrupted by the emphasis on the 'arbitrariness of the frame', which reinforces the self-referential character of the image.<sup>314</sup>

The juxtaposition of these images becomes a reflection not only on the act of painting, but also on the links between perception and representation. In his self-portrait, therefore, Paret equates painting and vision to show his understanding of his own practice as assuming, but also as going beyond, the technical difficulties of the manual craft in order to register the complexities of the interaction of mind and eye. Within the same tradition, Paret has recourse to the conventions that had previously defined other artists' self-representations as 'men of learning'. The oval canvas half wrapped by the curtain, the palette and the book occur in Hogarth's *Self-Portrait with Pug* (1749). In Hogarth's work the 'fictive' canvas that frames the image of the painter has been interpreted as the means of displaying his 'mastery of pictorial

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<sup>313</sup> . Mitchell, W. J. T. *Picture Theory: essays on verbal and visual representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 72.

<sup>314</sup> . Bal, op. cit., 1991, p. 234.

illusion' (fig. 37).<sup>315</sup> In Paret's painting, however, the canvas is behind his head, occupying the same position as the productions of the artist's imagination in Goya's *Capricho 43* (fig. 38). In Goya's print, these images surround the sleeping artist in nightmarish confusion.

### *Projections and image-making*

In Paret's work, the image appears enclosed within the material limits imposed by the surface and the oval border of the canvas. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century accounts of perception, the surface of the canvas is compared either with the receptive matter of the human brain or with the retina.<sup>316</sup> The terms 'painting', 'picture', 'print' and 'blank canvas' refer to the stage in which the image / idea becomes imprinted on the blank surface of the mind / soul. A similar use of Lockean imagery can be traced to contemporary theoretical Spanish sources, such as Ignacio Luzán's *Poética*, which was first published in 1737, and again in 1789:

Through the external senses, perceptible objects introduce in our souls an image or copy of themselves. This image (the way physicians explain this

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<sup>315</sup> . Bindman, D. *Hogarth and his Times: Serious Comedy*. London: British Museum Press, 1997, p. 80.

<sup>316</sup> . 'It was Kepler who, in the year of 1604, first observed that the retina is the tablet, on which the images of external objects are depicted' (Priestley, J. *The History and Present State of Discoveries relating to vision, light and colours*, vol. 2. London, 1772, p. 39).

process is not our business here) is printed and drawn in the brain or wherever the soul sees and understands these images.<sup>317</sup>

Luzán suggests that the means by which the image is ‘printed’ on the brain can be of interest for the ‘physician’, but not for the artist. However, the scientific knowledge of the operations of the mind that was outside his competence in the 1730s became a distinctive feature of the ‘painter-philosopher’ in the 1780s. In 1782, Sempere referred to the commission that Benito Bails received to prepare a mathematical manual for the students at the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando.<sup>318</sup> The course included a chapter on ‘optical principles’, where Bails followed Newtonian physics to explain phenomena such as refraction or the formation of colours.<sup>319</sup> Moreover, he compiled current theories on ‘vision and the description of the eye’ that suggest that ‘the way physicians explain this process’ of vision had finally become part of the painter’s basic knowledge:

If the sclerotic is removed from the bottom of the eye, images of objects can be seen printed distinctly through the rest of subsequent thinner layers. And since those images produce an impression on the senses, instantly carried to the brain by means of the movement communicated along the fibres of the optical nerves, they [those images] are the occasional cause of vision.<sup>320</sup>

The blank canvas representing the human mind appears in a popular Spanish book of emblems written by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo entitled *Empresas Políticas*.

<sup>317</sup> . Luzán, I. *La Poética o las Reglas de la Poesía en general y de sus principales especies*, vol. 2. Madrid: Imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1789, p. 245.

<sup>318</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1782, p. 248.

<sup>319</sup> . Bails, B. *Principios de Matemática de la Real Academia de San Fernando*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1788 (I have used the fourth edition, published in 1805).

<sup>320</sup> . ‘Si se le quita al fondo del ojo la esclerótica, se ven a través de las demás membranas mas delgadas, las imágenes de los objetos estampados muy distintamente. Y como estas imágenes hacen

Although first published in 1640, it was still very much in use in the late eighteenth century. Diego Rejón de Silva quoted Saavedra's second *empresa* at the beginning of his poem *On Painting* in 1786, to assert that 'if Painting is not Nature itself, it is so similar to it, that sight is deceived by its works'.<sup>321</sup> Saavedra's *Empresas* appear listed in the inventories of the libraries of many Basque tradesmen belonging to the Sociedad Bascongada who were to become Paret's patrons while working in Bilbao.<sup>322</sup>

The canvas in Paret's self-portrait is not blank, but shows a shipwreck. The oval format was not usual in Paret's works, but it was common in representations of the images resulting from magic lantern projections, which offer another possible interpretation for the painting. In 1786, Paret depicted the shipwreck of the man-of-war *San Pedro de Alcántara* reproduced in an etching, whose dimensions (43.4 x 63.8 cm.) would render it suitable for optical projections.<sup>323</sup> Calvo Serraller has suggested that this might be the shipwreck included in his self-portrait.<sup>324</sup> The near loss of this vessel carrying silver and gold from America to Spain caused the destabilization of the national market and the rescue of its cargo was keenly followed by the Spanish public. Paret's etching entitled 'An unforeseen disaster and its unexpected happy end' could appear as a moral example of the instability of fortune.

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una impresion sensible, que el movimiento a lo largo de las fibras de los nervios ópticos comunica al instante al cerebro, son la causa ocasional de la vision' (Bails, op. cit., 1805, p. 256).

<sup>321</sup> . 'Si no es Naturaleza la Pintura, es tan semejante á ella, que en sus obras se engaña la vista, y ha menester valerse del tacto para reconocellas' (Rejón de Silva, D. A. *La Pintura. Poema didáctico en tres cantos*. Segovia: Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, 1786, n. p.).

<sup>322</sup> . Basurto, R. *Comercio y burguesía mercantil de Bilbao en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 1983.

<sup>323</sup> . Morales y Marín, op. cit., 1987, p. 208.

<sup>324</sup> . Calvo Serraller, op. cit., p. 30.

Moreover, it belongs to the category of 'catastrophe scenes', for which a strong demand existed.<sup>325</sup>

Paret's 'metapicture' makes the viewer aware of 'the perceptual codes that determine the selection of an image as suitable for framing'.<sup>326</sup> The juxtaposition of the shipwreck and the framed view on the oval surface of the canvas suggests the existence of the smaller scene (the *View of the Arenal of Bilbao*) prior to the differentiation imposed by the frame. Their correspondence can be extrapolated to the relationship between the shipwreck and the painter's studio, seen as the space outside the canvas. A third and final level of representation transfers the viewer's 'awareness of perceptual codes' and its resulting tensions to the space that he or she is occupying in relation to the self-portrait. Paret inserts the viewer's space within this succession of layers of images presented simultaneously as artifice and as reality, depending on the chosen referential. Layers merge into each other in escalating levels of representation, which would include those corresponding to the viewer's retinal and mental images.

In Paret's self-portrait, Hippocrates is almost hidden by another bust, which can be identified as Socrates. Socrates was often quoted in relation with the problem of the 'truthfulness' of likeness.<sup>327</sup> His imaginary portrait became a 'test case for the physiognomists', since it undermined the link 'between the outward signs of his

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<sup>325</sup> . Wilson-Bareau, J. and Mena Marqués, M. *Goya; truth and fantasy: the small paintings*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, p. 34.

<sup>326</sup> . Michasiw, op. cit., pp. 76-100.

<sup>327</sup> . Brilliant, R. 'Portraits: the limitations of likeness', in *Art Journal*, vol. 46, n°3, 1987, p. 171.



appearance and his real character'.<sup>328</sup> Lavater, however, reverses the undermining value of this example of disagreement between moral qualities and physical features. According to this author, the physiognomical analysis of traditional representations of Socrates proves the usefulness of physiognomy as a science of signs that allows the observer to go beyond the surfaces.<sup>329</sup>

In a discourse on the history of printmaking addressed to the students of the Academy of San Fernando in 1790, José de Vargas y Ponce referred to Socrates as 'a professor of the fine arts' and, hence, a suitable model for the painter-philosopher.<sup>330</sup> But Socrates was also reputed to be the protagonist of 'the earliest recorded statement on the artistic representation of emotion'.<sup>331</sup> He can be thus inserted within the long tradition of representations of the passions or 'the activities of the soul'. Socrates could thus be associated with theoretical reflections on the possibility of knowing the inner man by following physiognomic and pathognomic indexes. The presence of Hippocrates behind reinforces this reliance on the conjunction of experience and understanding to 'map' the connection of mind and body.<sup>332</sup>

### *Luis Paret's Basque ports*

<sup>328</sup> . Berland, K. J. H. 'Reading character in the face: Lavater, Socrates, and physiognomy', in *Word & Image*, vol. 9, n°3, 1993, pp. 255, 264.

<sup>329</sup> . Lavater, op. cit., 1781, p. 170.

<sup>330</sup> . Vargas y Ponce, J. *Discurso Histórico Sobre el Principio y Progresos del Grabado*. Madrid, 1790, reprinted in Carrete Parrondo, J. 'José de Vargas y Ponce: Discurso Histórico Sobre el Principio y Progreso del Grabado', in *Revista de Ideas Estéticas*, vol. 34, n° 133, p. 90.

<sup>331</sup> . Montagu, J. *The expression of the Passions. The origin and influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 1-2.

The representation of work and leisure in an accurate topographical setting provided the opportunity to test the mechanisms of control associated with the 'picturesque'. Paret's choice of subject remains, however, problematic. As far as we know, he started to work on the series of ports without any specific commission while still in exile. Two of the earlier paintings were acquired by a wealthy recently ennobled Basque tradesman.<sup>333</sup> It was not until 1786 that Paret was appointed by the king to add two pictures every year to those that he had previously sent to the future Charles IV. Paret's well-timed initiative worked as an effective commercial strategy. As a result, he obtained further commissions from the *Consulado*, from the *Sociedad Bascongada* and from individual members of both institutions. Moreover, he was granted permission to return to the Court and to paint views of Madrid for Charles IV.<sup>334</sup>

The commission was reported to include not only paintings, but also the 'drawing [of] maps' of the same locations, although these have not been identified.<sup>335</sup> Paret's self-portrait suggests a connection between his series of ports and the official project of the *Atlas Marítimo*. Its supervisor Vicente Tofiño specified that the Basque coast was surveyed between May and December 1787, one year after the commonly accepted date of Paret's paintings. Most of the locations depicted by Paret between 1779 and 1789 match Tofiño's choices of eight bases or points covering the profile of the coast from Fuenterrabía to Ferrol.<sup>336</sup> The coincidence suggests Paret's awareness of the aims of the project supported by the *Sociedad Bascongada* and the

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<sup>332</sup> . Piquer, op. cit., 1770, vol. 2, p. 143.

<sup>333</sup> . Blanco Mozo, op. cit. pp. 299-316.

<sup>334</sup> . Delgado, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>335</sup> . Morales y Marín, J. L. *Luis Paret: vida y obra*. Zaragoza: Aneto, 1997, p. 271.

<sup>336</sup> . Tofiño, V. *Derrotero de las Costas de España*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1789, p. v.

*Consulado*, whose premises appear highlighted in both maps and paintings. Both Paret's paintings and Tofiño's maps would be therefore associated with the promotion of commerce and navigation.

The influence Claude-Joseph Vernet's *Ports of France* had on Paret's series has been often mentioned.<sup>337</sup> But Paret had travelled to Italy in the early 1760s and in Madrid he could also have seen works by Canaletto, Guardi and Bellotto belonging to the royal collections.<sup>338</sup> Views by Antonio Joli, Michel-Ange Houasse and Jean Pillement would equally have been available for study in Spain during those years. They provided a model to represent urban scenery peopled by figures at work. However, there were specific issues tackled by Paret that did not fit within this mode of representation. The tensions between the administrative centre of the country identified with the Court and periphery became more pressing during the 1780s.<sup>339</sup> Paret's views must be read, therefore, in the context of the survey of the Spanish territory aimed at providing the Bourbon administration with an accurate knowledge of its population and resources.

The *Atlas Marítimo* required high scientific, technological and representational standards. Optical instruments were bought in London and sent to Bilbao by the ambassador Campo.<sup>340</sup> Manuel Salvador Carmona supervised the engravers trained in the Academy of San Fernando and abroad, like Tomás López. The priority for the makers of the *Atlas* was the definition of the outline of the

<sup>337</sup> . Paret owned a copy of the engraved series and his patron the prince of Asturias commissioned several paintings from Vernet (Pardo Canalís, op. cit., 1987, p. 109).

<sup>338</sup> . Bowron, E.P. 'Luis Paret y Alcázar y la Pintura de Vistas en el siglo XVIII en Italia', in *Luis Paret y Alcázar y los Puertos del País Vasco*. Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 1996, pp. 11-25.

<sup>339</sup> . Zabala, A. *La Función Comercial del País Vasco en el Siglo XVIII*. Donostia: Haranburu, 1983.

country and the mapping of its seashore; the extension and topographical features of the inner land remained undefined. Tofiño asserted the importance of his 'peripheral map' as the first stage towards the study of the surfaces previously outlined.<sup>341</sup>

How are available modes of representation transformed in Paret's paintings? In the series, work and the everyday activities of a busy port acquire a relevance not previously seen in Spanish Painting.<sup>342</sup> Different social groups and occupations shared the space mapped by Tofiño and his team of engravers. In Vernet's earlier views, the hierarchy established by the arrangement of the space and by the social characterization of the figures is still unambiguous, its assumptions unchallenged. Issues of agency hardly suggested in Vernet's ports become dominant in Paret's images of a society immersed in the process of rapidly adapting to new economic conditions.

What does Paret represent in his series of views painted in the 1780s? His two views of Bilbao show workers unloading goods and piling them on the docks or preparing the barrels and sacks to be transported in carts. One of the views of Fuenterrabía and the view of Bermeo represent fishing scenes. The view of San Sebastián and the second view of Fuenterrabía emphasise agricultural production and stock-breeding. In both cases, these activities are combined with the manufacture of cloth, suggested by the spinner in the former and by the rows of bleached linen displayed on the green fields in the latter. Shipbuilding is the main subject in the views of Pasajes and Olaveaga. Finally, the *Seascape with Figures* shows a group of

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<sup>340</sup> . AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8164.

<sup>341</sup> . Tofiño, op. cit., p. xv.

<sup>342</sup> . Held, J. 'Between Bourgeois Enlightenment and Popular Culture: Goya's Festivals, Old Women, Monsters and Blind Men', in *History Workshop*, nº 23, 1987, p. 41.

elegant tourists landing on a beach assisted by some local women, which might be a part of a larger scene. The same combination of leisure and labour can be found in the paintings of San Sebastián and Pasajes.

Why was the representation of the people and trade problematic in eighteenth-century Bilbao? Contemporary sources suggest that the production and circulation of goods in the Basque provinces proceeded in a somewhat more difficult fashion than that suggested by the paintings. The choice of port scenes cannot be dissociated from the complex politics leading to the selection of some peninsular ports granted permission to trade with America in 1778. The ports represented by Paret were either temporarily excluded from the Atlantic trade or subject to special conditions. In 1786, Townsend observed that ‘the inhabitants of Biscay have received... ample compensation for their loss in the peculiar immunities which they inherit from their fathers, and more especially in the freedom of their ports’.<sup>343</sup> This favourable view of the prosperity of the area differs from Bartolomé Egaña’s description of the desperate situation of the Basque ports in 1780:

As a result of the regulations on free trade established in 1778... the Province found itself in the most difficult situation that it has ever known, although a delegate has been already sent to Court. He is working for the recovery of the ancient, original and absolute freedom granted to the Province to bring from foreign countries all the products that it needs, be those ships, or goods for the use and consumption of its people. And to send their own products to Castile and to other Spanish Provinces without additional charges, as well as to introduce money and other necessary goods from those Provinces, also without charge.<sup>344</sup>

<sup>343</sup> . Townsend, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 373.

<sup>344</sup> . ‘Todo a resulta del Reglamento de Libre Comercio de 1778..., hallándose la Provincia en el día de la más crítica coyuntura que jamás a visto, bien que se a embiado Diputado a la Corte y está travajando para que se le reponga a la Provincia en su antigua, absoluta y originaria libertad de introducir de dominios extraños todo lo necesario, así de bastimentos como de géneros y mercaderías para el uso y consumo de sus naturales, y de pasar a Castilla y otras Provincias del Reyno sus frutos sin recargo de derechos, como también de introducir, sin ellos, el dinero y demás cosas necesarias

Conflicting accounts of the state of the local trade and economy are not the only problematic aspect of Paret's ports. Representations of the people working on the docks recall the mutinies and revolts –the *machinada*– that in 1766 had threatened not only the local authorities, but also the central government. In the aftermath of the Esquilache riots, the Basque provinces hosted some of the most violent revolts.<sup>345</sup> The riots highlighted existing conflicts within Basque society, such as the legitimacy of commercial activities and the social position of their practitioners and the conflict between free commerce and local traditional privileges or *fueros*. These subjects were also the main concerns reflected on the reports of the *Sociedad Bascongada*.<sup>346</sup>

Paret's images of the people can be referred to former British models he might know through prints. The most obvious source is Hogarth, whose works appear listed in Paret's inventory in 1787. In the series of ports, Paret's people are not deferential and they do not comply with the requirements of the 'deserving' poor mentioned in contemporary reports. Their identification with the descriptions written by picturesque travellers admiring the neatness and the laborious habits of even the less wealthy inhabitants of the country is also problematic. Existing contrasts, divisions and oppositions between rich and poor, work and leisure, patrician paternalism and a 'plebeian' pride in local traditions ought to be integrated in a harmonious whole. The connection between Paret's paintings and Tofiño's geographical survey endowed his images with the documentary authority of the

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desde las Provincias interiores de España' (Egaña, B. A. *Instituciones Públicas de Gipuzkoa. Siglo XVIII*, facsimile. San Sebastián: Diputación Foral Guipúzcoa, 1992, p. 465 / p. orig. 196-97).

<sup>345</sup> . Andrés Gallego, op. cit., pp. 440-453.

topographical view; Paret's assimilation of the conventions of the picturesque made the subsequent mode of representation not only acceptable, but also saleable.

One of the earliest views by Paret is his *View of the Arenal in Bilbao*, dated around 1783 (Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes). The main features defining the series are already established in this image (fig. 39). The foreground is peopled with figures engaged in different activities connected with trade or with the circulation and consumption of its products. Small groups of working men and women, chatting, drinking, gambling or sleeping are also included. In the middle distance, scenes of work are prominent. The background usually shows a topographically accurate view of the coastline and one of the Basque towns. The improvements promoted by the *Consulado*, like public promenades or fountains, are highlighted.

In this painting, however, the organisation of the composition is unusually rigid. Perspective lines converge in the upright figure of a man dressed in a pink silky coat, who becomes the axis of the scene. He is reading a piece of paper, probably the checklist for the goods that are taken from the ship to the docks. The gentlemanly quality of commerce is apparent in Paret's characterization of the tradesman. His dress and his deportment convey a dignity that distinguishes him from the rest of the figures. The negative connotations associated with the merchant as the 'embodiment of selfish material desires' are therefore neutralized.<sup>347</sup>

Surrounded by parcels, one of the workers looks at the tradesman. He is sitting behind a large anchor, which can be connected with the promotion of

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<sup>346</sup> . Fernández Sebastián, J. *La Génesis del Fuerismo. Prensa e ideas políticas en la crisis del Antiguo Régimen (País Vasco, 1750-1840)*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1991, p. 70.

manufactured iron by the *Sociedad Bascongada*. A similar interpretation can be drawn from the depiction of metal pans at the gentleman's feet. The manufacture of anchors was the subject of Bartolomé Egaña's *Memoria sobre las fábricas de Anclas y otros establecimientos de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa*.<sup>348</sup> Egaña referred to this specific product as an example of the necessity to oppose the relocation of customs from the inland to the ports, which meant that historical local privileges or *fueros* would be preserved. In his writings, Egaña regretted the current state of poverty of Basque peasants, thus denying the glowing account of their welfare provided by contemporary travellers like Townsend.

In Paret's painting, two sailors lean on the parcels and chat to one of the Basque women working in the docks at right. They wear the striped loose trousers and round hats that identified British seamen in this period, while the woman is dressed in rags. The colourful patches in her ragged red skirt are clearly exposed, as well as her bare feet. She can hardly be identified with the neatly dressed Basque peasantry commonly described as a sign of the prosperity of the area, thus casting a doubt on Paret's 'documentation' of everyday life in these coastal towns.

Campomanes's dissertations on popular education and on the promotion of industry dealt specifically with the problem of female employment.<sup>349</sup> Their emphasis on the role of women in economic production opposed the views expressed not only by the Church, but also by contemporary moral writers. Campomanes's writings offer numerous descriptions of women spinning, fishing and unloading

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<sup>347</sup> . Solkin, op. cit., 1993, p. 1.

<sup>348</sup> . Egaña, B. *Continuación de la Memoria... sobre las fábricas de Anclas... y otros establecimientos de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa*. Tolosa: F. de la Lama, 1788 (see Fernández Sebastián, op. cit., p. 50).

<sup>349</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1775, pp. 362-363.



boats, as well as mothers teaching their children, also prominent in Paret's imagery. Campomanes's arguments can be interpreted as an attempt to neutralize the controversial nature of these images of female labour. As part of his efforts to enrol the support of the Church, the involvement of local priests in the activities of 'economic societies' like the *Bascongada* was fostered. The same strategy is echoed in Paret's paintings, where a priest often appears observing the figures at work.

At left, the hardship of goods transportation is evidenced by the efforts of two men pushing a barrel into a cart. This scene was relatively new in northern ports and resulted from the *Consulado*'s concern with promoting public works that could foster trade. Since 1774, a new road allowed the use of carts led by bullocks, which eased the transport of goods from the plains of central Spain. The efforts of the two workers are contrasted with the easy and 'natural' attitude of a man leaning on one of the bullocks. The graceful, undulating line of his figure is equally opposed to the gentleman-tradesman's stiffness. The contrast recalls Hogarth's pairing of the Antinous and the dancing master in plate I of the *Analysis of Beauty* (fig. 40), thus rendering ambiguous the positive image of the merchant: commerce might have become a noble occupation, but it was also a trade based on artifice and deceptive appearances.<sup>350</sup>

The *Consulado* became involved in the publication of writings defending trade, such as the *Aumento del Comercio con Seguridad de la Conciencia* (Madrid, 1785) (Augmentation of Commerce with Tranquillity of Conscience). Its author, the priest Joseph María de Uría, tried to provide the practices of Basque tradesmen with

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<sup>350</sup> . Chard, C. 'Nakedness and Tourism: Classical Sculpture and the Imaginative Geography of the Grand Tour', in *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 18, n° 1, 1995, p. 23.

a moral basis. In order to deny the characterization of tradesmen as ‘cunning usurers’ and speculators responsible for the relaxation of customs and morals, Uría portrayed the ‘perfect tradesman’ as endowed with ‘natural nobility’ and ‘Christian virtues’.<sup>351</sup> Uría deprived the ideal portrait of the merchant of any sort of dangerous ‘enthusiasm’ that could undermine public confidence in his skills to deal with financial affairs. Instead of this, the combination of sound judgement with a well-trained eye appeared as the essential qualification for the tradesman aspiring to play a significant role in the public sphere.

In the *View of the Arenal in Bilbao*, a red cross on a white ground, the ensign of the *Consulado*, is displayed on a flag in the foreground. The same flag appeared in the shipwreck in Paret’s self-portrait. This was the commercial institution that undertook the public works in the docks represented in both views of Bilbao, like the pavement and pillars at right. The new road whose construction the *Consulado* promoted and the traditional *fueros* were regarded by observers like Jovellanos as the main causes of the prosperity of the region.

The harmonious scene depicted by Paret was preceded by decades of tensions among the local councils and the central government. The most recent conflict had occurred in 1766 within the context of widespread local revolts against Esquilache. In Northern Spain, the catalyst were the measures adopted to open a way out from Castile to the Cantabrian coast, which would improve transports and, hence, commerce. However, the new regulations were regarded as favourable to Santander, but damaging to the economy of the Basque provinces. The local authorities offered

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<sup>351</sup> . Uría Nafarrondo, J. M. *Aumento del Comercio con Seguridad de la Conciencia*. Madrid: D. Joachin Ibarra, 1785, p. xxvi.

an alternative and proposed to sponsor the construction of a second road from Castile to Guipúzcoa. The progress of this second option was the achievement of the *Consulado* of Bilbao.<sup>352</sup>

In Paret's painting, discontinuous roads are lightly indicated on the misty hillsides at left, by means of blurred lines that demonstrate his mastery of aerial and geometrical perspective. His interpretation of the 'picturesque' performs the cohesive function assumed by allegorical figures in earlier representations of commerce. Thus, in the woodcut illustrating the chapter dedicated to the promotion of manufactures in Nipho's *Correo General* (Madrid, 1763), Mercury stands on the right pointing at the workman piling up heavy parcels (fig. 52).<sup>353</sup> On the left, another man dressed smartly on a coat under which part of the sword marking his noble condition can be seen addresses the tradesmen working behind the counter of their shop or warehouse. A cottage and fields appear vaguely sketched in the background. The unconnected scenes that juxtapose awkwardly different stages in the production and circulation of commodities are rendered consistent by the declamatory gesture of the god of commerce, who presents the scene to the reader.

In 1784, Paret painted a second view representing a *View of the Arenal in Bilbao* from a different position (fig. 41). There is no single figure organizing the scene, but two separated, yet balanced, groups. In the foreground, at left, some of the workers are resting. The spectator's attention is attracted by the graceful attitude of a woman holding a parcel on her head and a glass of wine in her right hand. She turns her head towards a group of men drinking and smoking lying on some of the parcels.

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<sup>352</sup> . Andrés-Gallego, op. cit., p. 173.

A number of goods appear in the foreground near them: barrels, chests, vases, piles of cloth and metal works are proudly offered to the spectator's gaze as the product of trade.

As in the former view, the easiness and naturalness of the 'picturesque' people is contrasted with the affectation of a group of elegant women and a foppish man enjoying the *paseo*. The three women are dressed in French fashion: their elaborate wigs, lace and expensive fabrics refer to luxury as characteristic of commercial society. The adoption of French fashions was a target for some *ilustrados* like Jovellanos's friend Juan Meléndez Valdés, who denounced in 1798 the 'scandalous luxury' that made 'both prostitutes and the highest nobility... undistinguishable in their airs and dress'.<sup>354</sup> Meléndez contrasted this extravagant display of wealth with the rags worn by the majority of the population, in a way similar to that of Paret's integration of both social groups in a seemingly harmonious image.

The apparent ambiguity in Paret's representation of commercial society also characterizes Meléndez's writings. Earlier in the 1770s, he had been commissioned by the Sociedad Bascongada to write a dissertation on the benefits of luxury, which was published in 1778.<sup>355</sup> In his letters to Jovellanos, Meléndez referred to his extensive readings of British authors, such as Hume, Hutcheson or Mandeville, to

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<sup>353</sup> . Nifo y Cagigal, M. J. *Correo General Histórico, Literario, y Económico de la Europa*. Madrid: Imprenta de Gabriel Ramírez, 1763, vol. 1, p. 225.

<sup>354</sup> . Cited in Pérez Sánchez, A. E. and Sayre, E. A., eds., *Goya and the Spirit of Enlightenment*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1989, p. 76.

<sup>355</sup> . Demerson, G. *Don Juan Meléndez Valdés y su tiempo (1754-1817)*, vol. 1. Madrid: Taurus, 1971, p. 328.

support his arguments on the subject.<sup>356</sup> Hume was also one of the sources quoted by Sempere in his *History of Luxury* (Madrid, 1788). Sempere regarded luxury as a 'minor evil' and considered fostering the increase in consumption as the main aim of the enlightened statesman. His views were summarized in his praise of the vanity of those classes that could afford to indulge in such a profitable vice:

Without the arts and sciences that many consider superfluous, impertinent and completely unnecessary for life, the republic would be [fruitless]: since the needs of a few are satisfied by the superfluous expenses of the others... Those who spend their properties, their money, their rents and their inheritances in a profusion of vane equipage and adornment, both for their houses and for themselves, become somehow the benefactors of the state<sup>357</sup>.

The negative connotations of conspicuous consumption are neutralized in Paret's series without denying their existence. In a similar tone, Meléndez agreed with Mandeville's equation of private vices and public benefits, while Jovellanos praised the social advantages of self-interest under the influence of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.<sup>358</sup> Their use of these British sources not only aimed at rendering wealth resulting from trade morally acceptable. They also justified Paret's cohesive images of producers and consumers: the French fashions, lace and silks worn by the women represented on right provided the people working on left with the means to make a living out of the benefits of commerce.

Simple dress and more 'natural' attitudes characterize the groups placed under the trees in the background. Similar positive connotations are conferred on the

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<sup>356</sup> . For the contribution of these authors to the debate on luxury, see Sekora, J. *Luxury. The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollet*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

<sup>357</sup> . Sempere, op. cit. 1788, pp. 210-211 (appendix 2a).

gentleman in a red coat and the priest. They are engaged in conversation, while looking at the figures working and to the scenes of labour in the docks. An equivalent instructive role is performed by the maidservant kneeling next to the fashionable ladies to attend a child dressed in blue. This image, which also appears in the view of the port of Bilbao at the National Gallery, recalls Condillac's comments on analysis as a method of observation that is practised by children 'naturally'.<sup>359</sup> This disposition of the child's mind towards the right and 'natural' exercise of his or her perceptual skills would be lost as he or she becomes an adult, whose senses and mind are wrongly trained and dependent on 'systems'.

Although they are closer to the spectator, the groups of industrious people in the middle ground are rendered almost transparent by Paret's handling of light and colour. Their blurred outlines and pale hues contrast with the dense brushstrokes and bright colours of the gathering of idle workers loitering at left. This difference in emphasis is not arbitrary: scenes of toil and plenty like these were not so common in the region. In 1784, the year the *View of Bilbao* is dated, the *Consulado* submitted a report to the king on the decadence of commerce and industry in Bilbao.<sup>360</sup> Its members blamed the legislation that, since 1778-1779, considered Basque products as 'foreign' and increased their taxes.

To change the law regulating trade in the Basque provinces would have been problematic, since this would interfere with Basque traditional privileges. A possible

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<sup>358</sup> . For the reception of Adam Smith's works in Spain, see Lai, C. *Adam Smith across Nations. Translations and receptions of the Wealth of Nations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

<sup>359</sup> . 'Los niños están determinados por sus necesidades á ser observadores y analizadores...: lo son en algun modo forzosamente en tanto que la naturaleza sola los conduce. Pero inmediatamente que principiámos á conducirlos nosotros mismos, les interceptamos toda observacion y análisis'

solution was the proposal of the *Consulado* to reach a compromise between the traditional *fueros* and modern regulations promoting free trade.<sup>361</sup> These tensions between Basque local institutions and the central government had been maintained with more or less strength since the beginning of the century. But their relations underwent a particularly difficult period after 1766. Any depiction of the land and of the people of the Basque coasts in the 1770s-80s ought to acknowledge the conflict.

The geographical location of customs along the Basque coast was discussed not only between the central government and the Basque institutions, but also between the *consulado*, a commercial council presided by tradesmen, and the *señorío*, which was the local government whose members were mainly landowners.<sup>362</sup> The conflict was aggravated in the 1780s: the insistence of the *señorío* in the preservation of traditional privileges involved opposing the relocation of customs in the coastline (instead of inland) which resulted in the exclusion of the port of Bilbao from the Atlantic trade.<sup>363</sup>

In the second decade of the eighteenth century, the central government had ordered the displacement of the Basque customs from their traditional inland location to the coastline. As a result, popular revolts supported by the traditional nobility had to be severely repressed by the new Bourbon king, Philip V. Ultimately, the customs remained in their original location, but the consequences of the uprising were still

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(Condillac, E. B. *La Lógica, ó los primeros elementos del arte de pensar*, transl. Bernardo María de Calzada. Madrid: Ibarra, 1784, p. 115).

<sup>360</sup> . Basurto, op. cit., p. 69.

<sup>361</sup> . Zabala, A. *La Función Comercial del País Vasco en el Siglo XVIII*. Donostia: Haranburu, 1983, pp. 58-59.

<sup>362</sup> . Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>363</sup> . Fernández Sebastián, op. cit., p. 19.

strongly felt in 1778. The geographical points where the customs should have been established correspond to the ports represented by Paret in his series.<sup>364</sup>

The denunciation and withdrawal of damaging regulations were one of the main aims of the Sociedad Bascongada. Representing its members as useful, virtuous members of society and promoters of public prosperity can contribute to legitimize their claims. The characterization of the discontented people of the Basque provinces as 'picturesque' would serve the same strategy. The element of theatricality involved in Paret's interpretation of the picturesque reveals its limitations as the means of integrating and neutralizing conflict. His representation of the people registers the shift from passive virtue to industriousness that Barrell identifies with 'the change from a paternalist to a capitalist economy'.<sup>365</sup>

The same combination of uneasy 'picturesqueness' and theatricality appears in the *View of San Sebastián* dated 1786 (Madrid, Palacio de la Zarzuela). Women in elegant dresses on horseback appear on the left aware of the viewer's gaze (fig. 42). The peasant woman on the right pauses to stare at the spectator, while carrying her basket full of the products of agriculture. She is isolated from the other figures and derives from Paret's individual studies of regional costumes published by Juan de la Cruz (fig. 14). On the left, a spinner and a young mother sitting next to a flock of sheep look at the men drinking and talking in the shade.

Women appear reduced to types that can be easily connected to generic references to luxury, industry or prosperity. As such, they may be opposed, as the

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<sup>364</sup> . The Order established that the inland customs ought to be displaced to the ports of Bilbao, Portugalete, San Sebastián, Pasajes and Fuenterrabía (ibid., p. 58).



positive representation of peasant life, to the men loitering in the 'dark side of the landscape'. When similar scenes are described in the accounts of the travels of the *ilustrados*, they are generally interpreted as a symptom of erroneous policies that deprive the poor of their right to be industrious. Leisure is not an option for those denied any agency or control over their activities, but an imposed and involuntary evil. Unlike the people in Goya's cartoons, these rural poor are presented as the virtuous victims of the neglect or the vices of those who govern them.

In the opening pages of his *Dissertation on the encouragement of popular industry*, Campomanes states that 'It is necessary that the three branches of agriculture, farming and industry are encouraged simultaneously and to the same degree'.<sup>366</sup> Paret's working men and women harvest the land, load carts with its fruits, ship or download them from merchant ships and consume their manufactured productions. But other figures in the series are characterized merely as consumers of the goods whose production and circulation is represented. In their role as fashionable travellers, these observers also consume the spectacle of the people at work, as can be seen in the *View of Fuenterrabía* in the Museum of Caen (fig. 43).

The image of those 'women and girls who look after the cattle in the fields' while working with their spindles supports the possibility of the mutually beneficial coexistence of agriculture and industry, called into question by some Spanish economists.<sup>367</sup> In the *View of San Sebastián*, women and men belonging to the local bourgeoisie on a horse trip survey these images of labour and prosperity and

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<sup>365</sup> . Barrell, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>366</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1774, p. x (appendix 4a).

<sup>367</sup> . 'Todo el progreso de las telas de lienzo dimana del hilado y torcido. Es útil á huso para las mujeres y niñas que van al campo, ó guardan el ganado' (ibid., p. xxv).

complacently look back at the spectator (fig. 42). Their role would be similar to that performed by the members of the *Sociedad Bascongada*. This form of supervision was commended by Campomanes as the most effective means to promote industry, agriculture and the arts. In Paret's painting, the neatly dressed, industrious and graceful peasant woman standing in the centre holding her spindle turns her head towards left lower dark corner, where a group of men idly drink and smoke unnoticed by the tourists in search of the picturesque.

A similar contrast appears in the *View of Fuenterrabía* in the Museum of Bilbao (fig. 44), where activities connected with the processing of linen and hempen-cloth are depicted. Lines of white cloth are spread on the green fields outside the town, while in the middle distance, two boats are loaded with the finished fabrics. In the foreground, two women pick the pieces of cloth already bleached, next to a couple of men drinking and smoking. According to Campomanes, 'linen or hempen-cloth only require the benefit of bleaching and lying on the fields', thus allowing peasants, like those represented on the left with cattle and baskets of fruit, to supplement their income with the products of other occupations.<sup>368</sup> Alkali was the substance used in the bleaching process and an object of research and experimentation in the laboratory of Vergara, dependent on the *Sociedad Bascongada*. Although this is one of the few paintings of the series where the picturesque tourists identified with the Basque elite are not represented, the beneficial effects of their projects on the local economy are suggested.

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<sup>368</sup> . 'El lienzo, ó la tela de lino ó cáñamo, solo requiere el beneficio del blanqueo con las legías, ó tendidos en los prados' (ibid., p. xix).

One of the women working on the fields outside Fuenterrabía stands and turns her head to left, while holding a bundle of cloth under her left arm. The graceful twist of her body reproduces the gesture of other female figures, always outstanding in the foregrounds of the series of Cantabrian ports. In all these cases, the model for Paret's peasants possibly derives from the Samaritan woman that Hogarth includes in his second plate for the *Analysis of Beauty* (fig. 45). She becomes the embodiment of the virtues of female labour praised by Campomanes. But she also introduces a contrast between the 'naturalness' of the attitudes of the people and the stiffness of the group of elegant women that recalls the pairing of the cart-driver and the merchant already described in the *View of the Arenal of Bilbao*. Although commerce appears as the catalyst for local economy and general prosperity, Paret's use of Hogarth's models introduces a cautionary note in these images by opposing virtuous 'naturalness' to the corrupting effects of consumption.

The implantation of industry and trade on the traditionally agricultural economy of the Basque provinces ought to appear as non-traumatic in these paintings. Paret's handling of colour and aerial perspective would contribute to such naturalization, which was not so apparent in earlier topographical views, such as those by Mariano Sánchez or Antonio Carnicero. Paret favours centrifugal compositions, thus reproducing the way the human eye perceives as explained in contemporary treatises on optics. The corresponding emphasis on a central focus can be achieved by means of the distribution of colours, as noticed in Goya's early tapestry cartoons. Unlike Goya, however, Paret chooses light and shadow, better than colour, to create strongly contrasted images where the edges remain in the dark surrounding a central highlighted field.

In the second *View of the Arenal in Bilbao*, the idle, undeserving people are confined to the darker left side of the foreground. The meaning of such displacement is made clearer by another painting in the same series. In the second *View of Fuenterrabía* (fig. 43), the man in the family group in the foreground adopts the role of the instructor with respect to the woman richly dressed standing next to him. He points towards a 'picturesque' gathering of fishermen and sailors working on the beach. Some of these groups appear simultaneously wrapped and blurred by the brightness of Paret's colours, in which they seem to dissolve. Behind the family group, next to the steps leading to a ruined tower, soldiers gamble and drink. But the 'dark side of landscape' that they inhabit remains out of sight for the polite spectators.

Gambling, drinking and idleness in all its forms were some of the moral dangers that the *Consulado* attributed to the economic crisis in the Basque provinces. These activities were also connected with smuggling in contemporary official reports. In the late 1770s, such illegal trade was considered by some groups as the means of preserving the customary liberties of the people in the northern ports. The disagreement of the defenders of the *fueros* with the theories of British economists that the commercial elite proposed as a model prompted forms of popular resistance, like smuggling. This resistance was addressed against the compromise between protectionism and the principles of free trade promoted by Charles III and explains Paret's depiction of popular figures in his series.<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> . Basurto, op. cit., p. 31.

A similar distribution of light and shadow can be seen in the *View of Bermeo* dated 1783 (Barcelona, Private Collection). The protagonists are a group of three fisherwomen standing on the rocks in the foreground (fig. 47). On the shady left side, a few boats are moored while groups of men and women unload the products of fishing and are welcomed by two monks. Scenes of hard labour undertaken by both men and women are not incompatible with suggestions of ordered leisure, and so a fiddler plays in one of the boats. The port of Bermeo, which was enduring a period of crisis at the time, appears bathed on a light that dematerialises forms and that renders almost unreal the loading and unloading of fishing boats on the beaches seen in distance. Like the *View of Fuenterrabía* in Bilbao, only working people are represented in this view focused on fishing, which was, with agriculture, one of the main economic activities of the area.

In the *View of the Port of Pasajes*, women at work are once more the protagonists (Madrid, Palacio de la Zarzuela). They are represented repairing the ships in the background and leading the boats that carry elegant tourists to the shore in the foreground (fig. 48). The same motif is the main subject of the *Seascape with Figures* in the Museo Cerralbo, Madrid, where two men help an elegantly dressed party to alight on a rocky beach (fig. 50). A woman kneels to arrange their baggage at left, while three peasants at right stand on the rocks observing the scene. The port is seen in the background wrapped in the golden light of dusk. It has been suggested that the painting was originally larger and that there might be a fragment missing at right.<sup>370</sup> In that case, the pattern established throughout the series determines that the

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<sup>370</sup> . González de Durana, J. and Otxagabia, K., eds. *Luis Paret y Alcázar: 1746-1799*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1991.

leisure group be probably counterbalanced with scenes of labour connected with fishing or agriculture.

The *Astillero de Olaveaga* (Upton House, Warwickshire) shows a similar combination of leisured tourists and working people (fig.49). Paret chooses a different angle to depict the same location seen in distance on the right of the *View of the Port of Pasajes*. According to the guide accompanying the *Atlas Marítimo*, the shore belonging to the Company of Philippines is represented on the left, in front of the shore belonging to the king, where ships are being repaired. A decree published the 10<sup>th</sup> of May 1785 placed the company under royal protection and noticed its links with the Royal Company of Caracas based in Bilbao.<sup>371</sup>

Both the king and the prince of Asturias offered his support by purchasing shares of the newly created company, as well as encouraging other commercial institutions, such as the Bank of San Carlos and the *Cinco Gremios*, to follow their example. This would be the reason that led the author of *Augmentation of Commerce with Tranquillity of Conscience*, published in the same year of 1785, to declare that ‘even the king is a merchant: think of how honest this occupation can be’.<sup>372</sup> But honesty was not the only issue with which supporters of the new company were concerned. As in the case of the location of Basque customs, the Company of Philippines posed the problem of the conflict between monopoly and freedom of commerce. The concession of especial privileges was regarded with suspicion by those ‘who love freedom of commerce’ mentioned by Foronda in his *Dissertation on the new company of the Eastern Indies read in the public meeting of the Sociedad*

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<sup>371</sup> . *Real Cédula de ereccion de la Compañía de Filipinas*. Madrid: Joaquín de Ibarra, 1785.

*Bascongada* in 1784.<sup>373</sup> Foronda found a corrective to this negative image in the figure of the ‘philosopher merchant’, whom he proposed as an example of ‘economy, industry, science, integrity’.<sup>374</sup> His virtues would bring prosperity not only to his native land, but also to the population of the Philippines.

Paret’s depiction of the Basque ports registers a number of antinomies of complex resolution. His images of prosperity were required to support the claims of the local commercial bourgeoisie to a degree of political power equivalent to the relevance of their economic activities. This welfare, however, could not contradict their complaints about their dependence on the central government, an issue which was taken to court by the *Sociedad Bascongada* at the time. The specific situation of the Basque provinces demanded a careful balance between centre and periphery in order to maintain local privileges or *fueros*, while complying with Bourbon free-trade policies. Moreover, the series deals uneasily with a cohesive image of local society that had been recently threatened by the re-negotiation of their respective roles after the 1766 revolts.

Paret’s works of the 1780s explore the possibilities of the ‘picturesque’ to neutralize the tensions involved in representing commercial society. Instead of a strategy for ‘policing’ vision, the picturesque appears as a flexible language that can be reworked and subverted. Despite its drawbacks, this mode of representation still belongs to an age in which vision is still considered as ‘perceptible knowledge’. In his self-portrait, Paret’s melancholic pose does not prevent him from staying alert

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<sup>372</sup> . ‘Hasta el mismo Rey es Comerciante: mira si es honrada esta carrera’ (Uría Nafarrondo, op. cit., p. xxii).

<sup>373</sup> . Foronda, op. cit., 1787, p. 32.

<sup>374</sup> . Ibid., p. 33.

and staring at the viewer, but Goya's sleeping Reason has closed his eyes and hides his face. As Diderot had suggested a few years earlier, a time would come when the truly qualified observer would be the 'philosopher... who had put out his eyes in order to be better acquainted with vision'.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> . Crary, *op. cit.*, 1992, p. 60.





### Chapter 3. (Re)mapping the field of vision

#### 1. The analytic gaze

##### *Grids, dots and traces*

In Paret's series of ports, the picturesque functions like the mediating lens which the painter operates to assign a viewing point to a spectator familiarised with the conventions of topography and illusionist representation. The notion of perception implied by the picturesque reveals an organisation of the field of vision that tries to legitimate the dominant position of the observer. However, the precariousness of this hierarchy is evidenced when the distribution of roles presupposed by Cartesian perspectivalism is altered, so that the object of perception dares to look back. Numerous instances in which the passivity of the picturesque 'object' is questioned have been explored in the previous two chapters. In this chapter and that which follows, the ways in which those conflictive claims operating within the field of vision are neutralized will be considered.

Contemporary theories on optics and perception offered a model of vision that could be incorporated within the systems of representation with which Spanish painters were experimenting. Both the 'layering' technique observed in Paret's series of ports and the 'zooming' juxtaposition of areas of distinctness in Goya's cartoons will be studied in relation to the premises established by current methods of scientific inquiry, such as the combination of analysis and synthesis explained by Condillac.

The former allows the spectator's gaze to wander from one surface to the surface below, adapting its advance to the 'layered' composition of the body, which can be visually 'unwrapped' or unveiled. The latter, however, attributes to the observed body a porous nature that offers the possibility of advancing in depth, of distinguishing an inside and an outside that can be turned and reversed, instead of a succession of smooth, uniform outer covers.

Existing modes of representation were also explored and transformed to accommodate different types of female portraiture. Women's increasing visibility was not restricted to images of commercial ports and marketplaces. The gendering of consumption and luxury in current debates on the nature of commercial society will be considered in connection with the centrality of the female body in the reorganization of anatomical knowledge. The mechanisms on which such forms of knowledge and representation rely exemplify how visual culture becomes a means of policing specific groups within the population. Their study, however, also suggests the existence of some margins of freedom that allow contesting the dominant model.

How does the place of the spectator become a matter of contention? In an emerging commercial society, the observer deprived of the authority formerly granted by rank and status finds himself or herself prey to constant deception. Even if provisional, some guidance must be made available to anchor the subject exposed to the delusional world of appearances. Although broader access to the privileged place of the observer ought to be provided, some sort of control should also be retained. How did Spanish painters face this demand? A possible solution could be found in the writings of Hogarth and Gilpin, which suggested that sight could be trained and

improved, its rules established and learnt. But their relationship with a market of spectators turned into consumers also showed how sight could be 'commodified'. As Bermingham argues, the association of specific ways of seeing with commodities such as optical gadgets, prints, paintings and picturesque manuals allows their theorisation 'as a mode of consumption and power'.<sup>376</sup>

In his *Observations on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, Gilpin establishes a correlation between the method of picturesque description and analysis. The aim of the picturesque is 'to bring the images of nature, as forcibly, and as closely to the eye as it can'.<sup>377</sup> However, Gilpin also asserts that the picturesque eye does not intend to 'anatomise' nature. His notion of analysis is not understood as a single stage that ends with the decomposition of the view. Close to Condillac's definition of the process of perception, Gilpin's analysis involves recomposing the whole image from its individual elements.

Within the dominant occularcentrism, a parallel was drawn between 'seeing' and 'knowing'. The connection was extended to the usage of terms pertaining to the physical process of vision in order to explain cognition. Thus, ideas were 'images' that could be 'seen' or 'projected' on the mind or the soul. Machines could enhance or supplement what was called 'natural vision'. For Condillac, the 'sight of the soul' replicated the operations of the 'sight of the body'.<sup>378</sup> According to him, analysis

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<sup>376</sup> . Bermingham, A. 'Elegant females and gentlemen connoisseurs. The commerce of culture and self-image in eighteenth-century England', in Bermingham and Brewer, op. cit., p. 493.

<sup>377</sup> . Gilpin, op. cit., 1786, p. xix.

<sup>378</sup> . I follow an early English translation by Joseph Neef: 'If [Nature] gave us the faculty of seeing a multitude of things at once; she gave us also the faculty of distinctly beholding only one at one time, that is, to direct our eyes upon a single one: and to this faculty... we owe all the knowledge we acquire through the sense of sight... Then we review all the objects whose form and situation we have examined and we embrace them again at one view. The order which, in our mind, prevails among them, is therefore no longer separate and successive, it is collective and simultaneous. This is the

involved breaking down the object in parts to be individually considered and subsequently re-composed into a whole. The ordering and unifying role of optical instruments with respect to the eye was similar to that of analysis with respect to the mind. This process found a parallel in the mechanism of vision. The rays coming from the object were gathered in the retina to be again decomposed and sent to the brain, where they were recomposed into an 'image' or 'idea'.<sup>379</sup> The degree of distinctness of the mental image would depend on the degree of perfection with which the rays of light were gathered in the eye:

Sight is never more distinct than when we circumscribe it, and when we look at a small number of objects at once: we always distinguish less than we see. It is the same with the sight of the mind; I have at once acquired a great variety of knowledge which has become familiar to me; I see the whole, but I do not discern it alike. To see distinctly all that at once offers itself in my mind, I must decompose it, as I have decomposed what offered itself to my sight; I must analyse my thoughts. Thought is analysed in the same way as exterior objects... We represent to ourselves the parts of our thought in a successive order, to restore them in a simultaneous order.<sup>380</sup>

Different degrees of distinctness within the same image did not depend on the demand of adjustments imposed by the eye on given physical elements, such as distance or light. The mind itself established a perceptual hierarchy within which different stages of attention determined variations in the degree of distinctness with

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order in which they exist, and we discover them, all at once in a distinct manner. This knowledge we owe to the art or manner with which we have directed our examination... It is therefore with the mind as with the eye... since all the sensations of sight belong to the mind. This sight of the mind, or intellect, is like the sight of the body... and in some measure he cannot circumscribe the space which they embrace' (Neef, J. *The Logic of Condillac*. Philadelphia, 1809, pp. 13-15). See also Calzada's translation into Spanish, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

<sup>379</sup> . Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>380</sup> . 'Nunca es la vista mas distinta que cuando ella misma se circunscribe y no miro mas que un pequeño número de objetos de una vez: discernimos siempre menos que vemos. Lo mismo sucede con la vista del alma. Tengo presentes á un tiempo un gran número de conocimientos que se me han hecho familiares: los veo todos, pero no los distingo igualmente. Para ver de una manera distinta quanto se ofrece de una vez á mi alma, es menester que descomponga como descompuse quanto se presentaba

which images were perceived. Descriptions of the perceptual process could offer a model for representation, since they revealed the mechanisms by means of which images were formed. Bails's explanation of vision included remarks on the creation of the image by means of combinations of 'dots':

The image of the object is formed by as many distinct dots as those forming the object represented; this image is not entirely perfect, but in so far as such dots are not confused. They must be perfectly distinct and keeping the same arrangement as the corresponding dots that form the object. Hence if the rays of light do not hit the bottom of the eye correctly, or if they are intercepted before or after being gathered, they will appear scattered in larger or smaller circular areas, the resulting image will be indistinct and so will be vision.<sup>381</sup>

Paret's handling of light and colour and his combination of distinct and blurred areas belonged to a system of representation that understood the decomposition and subsequent recomposition of the image as a process of 'layering'. But its pretensions to reproduce the act of seeing unmediated could be perceived as twofold. Any mode of representation that attempted to reproduce the functioning of the eye could also appear as based on illusionist tricks to those unacquainted with the theory of optics. As Condillac noted, only the viewer aware of his or her own perceptions found himself or herself in a position to resist manipulation.<sup>382</sup> The knowledgeable spectator would be able to recognise the difference between optical tricks and the painter's reproduction of retinal impressions. An example of this ideal

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de una vez á mis ojos: es menester que analice el pensamiento... : se representan las partes del pensamiento en un orden sucesivo para restablecerlas en un orden simultaneo' (ibid., pp. 24-25).

<sup>381</sup> . 'La imagen de un objeto se forma... de tantos puntos distintos, quantos hay en el objeto que representa; y esta imagen no es del todo perfecta, sino en quanto dichos puntos no se confunden, estan muy distintos, y guardan la misma colocacion respectiva que los puntos correspondientes del objeto. Luego quando los vértices de los manojos no dán puntualmente en el fondo del ojo, y quando los rayos detenidos antes ó despues de su reunion, están esparcidos en espacios circulares mayores ó menores, la imagen queda confusa, y por consiguiente es tambien confusa la vision' (Bails, op. cit. 1805, vol. 3, p. 255).

<sup>382</sup> . Condillac, op. cit., 1784, p. 113.

‘knowledgeable spectator’ was Jovellanos, who reacted to some sketches or *borrones* from Goya’s brother-in-law Manuel Bayeu with an analysis of his use of colour and his way of ‘painting light’ in terms of basic Newtonian optics.<sup>383</sup>

Paret’s technique often combines the superimposition of almost transparent layers with areas where increasing distinctness is represented by means of dots. The edges of the carpet in the foreground of *Charles III dining in front of his Court* (1768-74 Madrid, Museo del Prado), or the foliage of the trees on the right side of *The Arenal de Bilbao* in the National Gallery provide examples of this sudden focusing of the painter’s gaze (figs. 41, 51). The unfinished right side of his *Promenade in front of the Botanical Garden* (c.1790 Madrid, Museo del Prado) exemplifies the optical effects created by the simultaneous use of both techniques.

Paret’s *The Promenade in front of the Botanical Garden* (fig. 53) shows the institution created by Charles III as the venue for the gathering of the fashionable society. Their favourable reception of this type of self-celebratory image is suggested by the number of existing copies of the painting.<sup>384</sup> As with most of his production, there is no information about who commissioned either the original work or other existing versions and copies attributed to Paret. His independence from traditional forms of patronage and his choice of an unusual subject matter would suit an audience attracted by the combination of commercial appeal and fashionable

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<sup>383</sup> . The sketches represented religious subjects and Jovellanos referred specifically to Bayeu’s attempts at painting the ‘light of the glory’: ‘Está ya averiguado en la física que la luz no es fuego, ni tampoco materia solar; y... el color blanco no es otra cosa que la reflexión de todos los rayos de la luz’ (Jovellanos, G. M. *Obras Completas*, vol. 5: *Correspondencia 1808-1811*. Oviedo: Instituto Feijóo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII and Ayuntamiento de Gijón, 1990, doc. 2088, p. 509).

<sup>384</sup> . Delgado, op. cit., p. 195.

scientificity characterising the Botanical Garden and the Cabinet of Natural History.<sup>385</sup>

Paret's representation of painted and gilded carriages and polite crowds dressed in silk and velvet holding fans and parasols outside the gates of the Botanical Garden occurs under the inscription that states the royal patronage of the institution. The right side of the image is left unfinished, but its lack of definition is extended to the whole margins. The resulting effect of a mobile or wandering focus recalls the operation of the mechanisms of sight explored by Goya. The crowd is represented as a frieze running from left to right. The figures on the right raise their heads absorbed in the contemplation of the scene that the painter did not complete. Contrasting with the detailed depiction of the branches and leaves of the trees in the same area, the layers of brownish pigment are laid in a way similar to the surfaces of Goya's cabinet paintings.

Like the *Ball in Masque*, in the *Promenade in front of the Botanical Garden* Paret has chosen to represent a crowd whose members appear simultaneously as spectators and spectacle. The *Ball* was reproduced and circulated by means of Carmona's engravings. Copies and versions of the *Promenade* in oil were easily sold. The painting in the Prado, considered as the original was, however, left unfinished. It was reproduced in that state, with its expectant crowd attending a non-existing event on the right. In the smaller version at the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, the unfinished area has been suppressed, so that the attention is focused on the spectators; the necessity of any additional spectacle for them to watch is not even

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<sup>385</sup> . Peset, J. L. and Lafuente, A. eds. *Carlos III y la Ciencia de la Ilustración*. Madrid: Alianza, 1988.



acknowledged. There was a part of the Madrid population in the 1780s who would don their best clothes and gather at the gates of the Botanical Garden. Their reasons varied: they might attend the fashionable scientific demonstrations mentioned by Townsend or enjoy the novelty of a public space recently refurbished. But they also looked at each other and recognise themselves as members of a group, or as an audience.

In these paintings, Paret's 'dotting' can be associated with the effect produced by the mediation of the lens of instruments like the camera obscura and with the painter's attempt to emulate its supposed objectivity. The use of a similar form of 'dotting' in the drawings of José Camarón like the face of the *Woman in Turkish Costume* in the British Museum, can be associated with the popularity of the stipple in Spain from the early 1780s (fig. 68). Known as 'dot technique' ('grabado de puntos'), the imitation of the stipple after Bartolozzi's prints by self-taught Spanish printmakers, such as Bartolomé Vázquez, was encouraged by the minister Floridablanca.<sup>386</sup> The reasons for this official support were mostly commercial. But the demand to which it responded could be linked to the taste for a mode of representation that painters like Paret were developing in connection with the current interest in optics.

In 1712, Sébastien Le Clerc, whose works appear in Paret's 1787 inventory, denied that images were painted on the retina by the effect of 'optical brushes'.<sup>387</sup> According to Le Clerc, vision was caused by the movement of the 'globules' of light entering the eye and transmitted to what he called the 'soul' or ultimate site of

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<sup>386</sup> . Vega, J. 'Goya's Etchings', in *Print Quarterly*, vol. 12, n° 2, 1995, p. 162.

perception. The resulting 'images' were described as mere 'signs'. The object thus represented reflected the rays of light 'tracing on our eyes the routes and the passages throughout which the spirits must move in order to meet the reflected rays, from which they receive the impression that they communicate to the soul'.<sup>388</sup> The illustrations to Le Clerc's work exemplify a notion of perception consisting in the projection of a bundle of rays linking the eye to the object. The eye thus superimposes its conceptual grid on the visible world. The grid turns it into an image by means of this linear pattern in which heterogeneous data can be arranged and adjusted. Despite such adjustments, the perceived object is not modified.

The audience exposed to pictorial illusion were classified according to the awareness that their members had of their own responses to what they saw. How did the painter's knowledge of these mechanisms affect representation? Paret's second *View of the Arenal of Bilbao* (fig. 41) shows a combination of distinct and indistinct areas whose effect is that of a mobile focus or of the eye scanning the painted surface. The trees on the right appear as the visual effect of the light moving among the leaves. Small touches of white are mixed with green brushstrokes. Spots of mixed colours alternate with areas where the brushstrokes become broader and looser, thus creating an effect of dispersion and of increasing lack of definition.

Different degrees of distinctness do not depend on the distance between the object and the viewer's eye. The latter, however, is stimulated by the range of

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<sup>387</sup> . Pardo Canalís, op. cit., 1987, p. 109. See also Le Clerc, S. *Système de la Vision, fondé sur de nouveaux principes*. Paris, 1712, p. 48.

<sup>388</sup> . 'Les images ne servent qu'à nous avertir des objets qui se présentent à nous, & à tracer dans nos yeux les routes & les passages par lesquels les esprits doivent se diriger à la rencontre des rayons qui en sont réfléchis, & desquels ils doivent recevoir l'impression pour la communiquer à l'âme' (ibid., p. 31).

techniques required for its constant readjustment. This need for visual stimuli was acknowledged by the theoreticians of the picturesque, who proposed a number of strategies to satisfy it.<sup>389</sup> Variety was achieved by means of the composition of the scene and of the distribution of colours, light and shadow. But the same role could be performed by any visual device requiring a change in the configuration of the eye to adapt itself to the perceptual demands of the image.

In *The View of the Arenal de Bilbao*, the dotted area at right reproduces the effect created by the camera obscura, which breaks down the image in small coloured points of light (fig. 41). As a result, an area of higher distinction (or resolution) is created. Paret's use of this optical device is not documented. But in 1796 Jovellanos commissioned two views of the port of Gijón from Mariano Sánchez to demonstrate the use of this instrument and its parallels with the mechanisms of vision to the students of the *Instituto Asturiano*.<sup>390</sup> In his letters to the painter, Jovellanos specified that he expected the students to learn from them 'the colour of perspective', probably meaning aerial perspective. Paret designed the emblem of the institute, whose pupils were trained to become the tradesmen and sailors that would contribute to the development of the local economy.<sup>391</sup> In the letters that he wrote with instructions for Sánchez, Jovellanos assumed that the effects of the use of the camera obscura would be sufficiently evident in the resulting images for the students to identify them.

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<sup>389</sup> . Robinson, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

<sup>390</sup> . 'Consta que Jovellanos encargó al pintor [Mariano Sánchez] en 1796 "las vistas de Gijón" que éste le había prometido, para que, "poniéndolas en el Instituto, sirvan de muestra para que los muchachos que se ejercitan en la cámara oscura estudien el colorido de la perspectiva' (González Santos, J. *Jovellanos. Aficionado y coleccionista, 1744-1811*. Gijón, 1994, p. 138, cat. 48-49).

<sup>391</sup> . Morales y Marín, op. cit., p. 209.

Sempere refers to the limited number of amateur scientists who could afford optical instruments in late eighteenth-century Spain.<sup>392</sup> Most of these luxury machines were imported from France and Britain. Some of them were used for the manipulation and reproduction of images. Access to these techniques, but also to the knowledge necessary to operate the lens and to interpret the resulting images, was limited to a very specific audience. Apart from the king and a few members of the nobility, the buyers of optical instruments mentioned in the ambassador Campo's letters are mostly public institutions, such as Jovellanos's *Instituto*. To those who were not familiar with current medical and optical theories, the transformations of light and colour resulting from the mediation of the lens remained inexplicable.

In Paret's works, the dotting is restricted to a specific part of the image, usually the foreground, which contrasts with those adjacent areas where the painting is applied in loose, broader brushstrokes. If not a 'source of style', the evocation of the decomposed image generated by the camera obscura works as a reminder of the intermediate manipulation of the view.<sup>393</sup> But Paret's dotting is only one of the possible options to integrate vision within the material process of representation. Optical treatises, such as George Adams's *Essay on vision* (London, 1789), explained how the eye adjusts the image to enable perception with or without the aid of the lens (fig. 54). In order to achieve a similar effect, Gilpin recommended the use of 'high-colouring' as an equivalent method to 'analyze the views of nature':

To open their several parts in order to show the effect of a whole –to mark their tints, and varied lights –and to express all this in detail in terms as appropriate, and yet as vivid, as possible.<sup>394</sup>

<sup>392</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1782, p. 133 (appendix 1b).

<sup>393</sup> . Alpers, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>394</sup> . Gilpin, op. cit. 1786, p. xix.

Adams, on the other hand, referred to the fragmentation of the object 'considered as made up of a vast number of minute points'.<sup>395</sup> Each of these points sent its own image to the observer's eyes by means of rays of light that were subsequently recomposed and painted on the retina. This explanation of the physical aspect of vision would not constitute a complete account of perception, which still had to be completed in the mind.

In Paret's *View of the Arenal of Bilbao*, the lack of materiality in the trees resulting from the oscillations of the light also applies to his depiction of groups of figures below (fig. 41). The men and women working on the docks appear almost translucent. This effect is common in topographical views, where *staffage* is loosely added and painted over the solid grid of lines defining the townscape. But Paret's figures carrying heavy bundles over their heads on the left cannot be regarded as Gilpin's 'picturesque appendages'. Their dissolving contours do not depend on their distance with respect to the observer. In his history of vision, Joseph Priestley mentions Aristotle's reasoning on 'the cause of transparency' as 'a property of some bodies, which, from being potential only, is rendered actual by the presence of light'.<sup>396</sup> Paret's use of the modifications of light to define his figures evidences the role of this medium in perception. The leisure party represented under the trees on the right has the same dimensions as the men and women working on the docks. However, Paret represents them by means of opaque dense touches of colour, other than the white, bluish and pink thin layers of painting of the figures on the left. He

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<sup>395</sup> . Adams, G.. *An Essay on Vision... With a fourteen-page Catalogue of mathematical and philosophical instruments*. London, 1789, p. 37.

takes into account the interference of the air between the eye and the object, thus following Adams's recommendations:

As day advances, the land becomes more obscure, till at length, by the great opacity of the intervening vapour, and the light reflected by it to the eye, the object becomes less and less perceptible, and at last totally dissapears... the rising exhalations have a kind of undulating motion, like that of smoke or steam, so that objects seen through them appear to have a tremulous or dancing motion, which is sensible even to the naked eye.<sup>397</sup>

The mastery of aerial perspective that Ceán Bermúdez admired in Paret's works was based on his awareness of the physical causes of apperances. This knowledge was mentioned by Adams as an example of the usefulness that the learned painter could derive from the study of optics:

From this want of transparency in the atmosphere, arises that gradual diminution in the light of objects, which painters call the aerial perspective, and that azure tinge of the intervening atmosphere, by which they endeavour to give that degradation of colour, and indistinctness of outlines, peculiar to objects at a distance, for if the air were perfectly transparent, an object would be equally luminous at all distances, because the visible area and the density of light decrease in the same proportion.<sup>398</sup>

The area of visibility is thus constituted by means of a 'complex of negative conditions' that privileges the configuration of its object 'by surfaces and lines, not by functions or invisible tissues'.<sup>399</sup> This form of 'gridding' or tracing belonged not only to the realm of natural history, but also to geography. In Manuel Aguirre's geographical treatise published in 1782, different modes of representation were

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<sup>396</sup> . Priestley, op. cit., 1777, vol. 1, p. 4.

<sup>397</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1789, p. 61.

<sup>398</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1789, pp. 61-62.

explained and their reliability assessed.<sup>400</sup> Operating within a system of conventions, inventions or 'fictions' aimed at providing a functional description of the visible world, the geographer was equally aware of the physical and conceptual elements mediating his gaze:

If the rays of light projected from the object and causing the sense of sight could leave their trace on a transparent surface, such as a piece of glass, so many different outlines would appear on that plane as different objects and modes under consideration.<sup>401</sup>

If rays of light were painted on the glass surface as they leave their marks on the retina, the result would be a faithful image of the visible world. This mode of representation does not take into account the next stage of perception located in the brain. Benito Bails, who taught Mathematics and Perspective to the students of the Academy of San Fernando, defined vision as the movement of 'a certain matter' that 'enters the organ of sight and leaves its image painted there'.<sup>402</sup> He described the functioning of the camera obscura in the same terms, adding that the instrument could be used to 'copy painted images or to represent the perspective of solid objects'.<sup>403</sup> Bails, however, might be referring to a device slightly different than the traditional camera obscura. The object to reproduce would be outside the room and its image was formed on a 'sheet of paper or a large flat glass unpolished in one of its sides':

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<sup>399</sup> . Foucault, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>400</sup> . Aguirre, M. *Indagación y reflexiones sobre la Geografía*. Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1782, p. 208.

<sup>401</sup> . 'Si mirando un plano transparente, como un cristal, por exemplo, dexasen en él un rastro, ó señal los rayos de luz, que rechazados desde el objeto causan la sensacion del ver, resultarían tan varias delineaciones en este plano, como fuesen diferentes los modos y objetos, que se consideraran' (ibid., pp. 155-156).

<sup>402</sup> . 'La presencia de aquellos que llamamos *cuerpos luminosos*, se nos manifiesta porque arrojan de sí ó ponen en movimiento una materia que introduciéndose en el órgano de la vista dexa allí pintada su imagen' (Bails, op. cit. 1805, vol. 3, p. 195).

After fixing the glass vertically, its unpolished side facing the spectator, the main outlines of the image can be traced with a pencil on the surface. A sheet of thin paper will be then spread on the glass, so that the lines in pencil can be seen through and the image can be depicted on the paper.<sup>404</sup>

Explaining perception in terms of the ‘traces’ left by the rays of light projected from the object onto the surface of the lens, the retina, the sheet of paper or the canvas has two immediate effects. Bails’s description of the camera obscura emphasises the separation of the observer from the object, which is located in a different room. Moreover, the idea of the ‘trace’ establishes a direct, unmediated relation between the object and its representation. Condillac associated printing techniques with the process of perception as effected in the brain, conceived as a ‘soft substance where animal spirits leave their imprints’. In his *Logique*, he refers specifically to the ‘representation of the impressions made in the brain like engraving on a given surface’.<sup>405</sup> ‘Tracing’ can involve making incisions in the material used as support, in which it produces an alteration. In this respect, the trace can be contrasted with the grid, which is superimposed to the perceived image. The trace can go beyond the surface to transform the matter, whereas the grid maintains the separation between the subject and the object of perception. Technology can guarantee the separation between object and subject. These are the terms in which Camper described the ‘small machine’ that he built to ‘represent and design objects with the utmost accuracy’:

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<sup>403</sup> . Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>404</sup> . Ibid., p. 263.



This small device is set at a suitable height to make the level of my eye coincide with the horizontal line AB. I place the heads together on the table behind the straight threads stretched perpendicularly to the top of the frame... I obtain the main points of intersection that can help me draw and represent objects with the utmost precision by means of stretching the horizontal threads so that they cut across the main parts of the objects and marking the points where they meet the vertical threads.<sup>406</sup>

The instrument designed by Camper works as an effective screen between the eye and the heterogeneous data provided by the observed object, in this case, a series of heads. Camper describes the intersection of horizontal and vertical lines that form a grid superimposed to measure each individual head in relation to fixed parameters. The study of the raw data identified with faithful depiction is equated to representation as a form of reliable knowledge. It is the surface, not the three-dimensional space, which can be mapped and emphasised by means of the grid.<sup>407</sup>

Space and matter are not solid or opaque in Paret's works. However, the spectator's gaze cannot move through them in depth, but by moving horizontally in order to remove successive layers. The way of seeing that his paintings demand is that identified by Martin Jay with the Ptolemaic or cartographic grid, which structures the surface of the map on which the painter leans his left elbow in his self-

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<sup>405</sup> . 'Otros dicen que el cerebro es una sustancia blanda, en la qual hacen impresiones los espíritus animales... representándose las impresiones que se hacen en el cerebro como un grabado sobre una superficie, cuyas partes todas están en reposo' (Condillac, op. cit., 1784, pp. 74-75).

<sup>406</sup> . '[Ce] petit appareil [est] placé à la hauteur convenable pour que la hauteur de mon oeil coïncidât avec la ligne Horizontale AB je plaçai des têtes les unes après les autres sur la dite table derrière les fils droits dressés perpendiculairement jusqu'au sommet du châssis... Etendant alors les fils horizontaux de manière à couper les parties principales des objets, & faisant attention à leur rencontre avec les fils verticaux, j'avois indubitablement les principaux points d'intersection qui pouvoient me servir à représenter & à dessiner les objets avec la dernière précision' (Camper, op. cit., p. 36).

<sup>407</sup> . This use is similar to the 'modernist' definition of grid (see Krauss, R. *The originality of the avant-garde and other modernist myths*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1985, p. 10).

portrait.<sup>408</sup> This cartographic system of representation, different from the perspectival grid, is essentially descriptive. Moreover, it implies a concept of the frame as relative that can also apply to Paret's 'metapicture' in the same self-portrait. The sense of order created by means of the grid is evident in the views of Bilbao, where Paret uses the pattern of the pavement to map the social space of work and leisure. Grids can also be found in the rest of paintings in the series, where either the masts of the ships or the strictly geometrical arrangement of the buildings serve this artificial order.

How does Paret represent vision? Each painting in his series of ports can be read as structured by a succession of superimposed layers revealing different degrees of transparency and distinctness. In Goya's tapestry cartoons described earlier, the eye operated as a focusing device moving over or scanning a single surface. Paret's analytical gaze zooms in and out through the layers of painting. The process of decomposing and recomposing the image is thus realised in depth and can be connected with Gilpin's recommendations on 'highlighting', which he describes as a form of layering.

Grids and imprints can also be associated with the development of new techniques for the reproduction or for the transferral of images. The grid allows the enlargement or the reduction of images and hence their circulation among different media. Goya's sketches could be copied from his cartoons into tapestries, whereas Paret's *View of Bermeo* was similarly transferred from canvas to stone in the Royal Laboratory (fig. 47). In the preface to his *Observations*, Gilpin referred to the problem of finding a 'language' suitable for the adequate reproduction of his

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<sup>408</sup> . Jay, M. 'Scopic regimes of Modernity', in Foster, op. cit., p. 15.

picturesque designs. Gilpin was concerned with the inevitable 'loss' in the 'translation' of an image from drawing to print, despite the advantages of the 'newly invented [technique] of aquatint; which is certainly the softest, and comes the nearest to the idea of drawing'.<sup>409</sup> Moreover the subtle layering that characterises aquatints complied with the conditions of the non-invasive gaze.

### *Layers*

Paret's self-portrait can be read as the gradual unwrapping of a succession of layers (fig. 35). The reddish curtain in the background has been lifted and is held by a metallic ring in order to show the oval landscape. A second piece of grey cloth slides down to the floor at the painter's feet, its colour echoing that of the fabric hanging behind the red curtain on the left. The map displayed on the table half-covers the books on the right, once the sheet of thin tissue paper, now lying on the floor, has been removed. Another piece of white paper or of cloth is held by the painter in his right hand, the result of either covering or uncovering another surface. Even in the representation of his own elaborate costume, Paret details the creases and folds of the fabrics. In his rendering of all these materials, the painter emphasizes the sleek, shiny, silky quality of the textures that slide smoothly forward or backwards, to reveal or to hide the image lying beneath.

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<sup>409</sup> . Gilpin, op. cit., 1786, p. xxxi.

This 'layering' of the painted surface, where pieces of cloth or paper are casually left half-covering or half-displaying the objects depicted is a common device in Paret's works. The curtains ushering the spectator into the spaces artificially constructed of *The Trinket Shop* or the *Comedy Rehearsal* can be associated with a rococo theatricality derived from French models (figs. 19, 22). But the gesture of unveiling is also a common image of the enlightenment, especially when read as a metaphor referring to the revealing of truth or true knowledge.

In a similar context of enlightenment epistemology, the unveiling of nature appears as a metaphor for the knowledge obtained through the practice of anatomy.<sup>410</sup> Martín Martínez's *Complete Anatomy of Man* was first published in 1745, and it became the standard text for the study of Anatomy until its last reprint in 1788.<sup>411</sup> In the frontispiece by Matías Irala (fig. 55), Mercury lifts with his right hand the cloth barely covering a female figure of Nature. They stand over the anatomy theatre of Madrid, while a dissection is carried out below. Nature holds a sceptre with the figure of an open hand in her right and raises her left arm trying to detain Mercury. But in his left hand, the god of Medicine and Commerce holds a magnifying glass through which he examines the woman's turned face. Below, the dissector handles his knife in front of the corpse lying on the table, directed by the anatomist and surrounded by the members of the Academy of Medicine of Madrid.

Similar images of progressive unveiling are suggested in the rest of the plates that illustrate Martínez's anatomical lessons. In plate two, a male torso appears facing front literally open to the inspection of the reader's gaze (fig. 57). A straight

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<sup>410</sup> . Foucault, op. cit., 135.

clean horizontal incision has been performed over the chest, so that the skin appears removed on both sides, forming cylindrical folds pinned under the arms hanging below as an open floating curtain. Martín includes different stages of the dissection within the same image. Thus, the left side of the plate also shows a layer of removed skin that remains in its place in the right side. In the upper corner of this same left side, the anatomist's gaze penetrates the layers of skin still farther in order to show four ribs and, hence, the last stage of the dissection.

In his foreword to the first edition of the *Complete Anatomy*, the censor Nicolás Gallo del Castillo refers to Hippocrates's faithfulness to a 'lost' knowledge of nature, only recovered when Bacon 'lifted nature's veil' in the seventeenth century.<sup>412</sup> Unveiling is thus identified with the practice of anatomical dissection in both the frontispiece and the plates. But Irala's illustrations to the treatise also exemplify how the process of the unveiling of the body was actually achieved. The frontispiece presents the practice of dissection as focused on the act of seeing, thus privileging the observer in the figure of the dissector. The magnifying glass held by Mercury refers to the need of mediation between the observer and the observed object. The 'question of veiling / unveiling' emphasises the epistemological value of the act of looking. The use of the veil as metaphor also evidences the scientific gaze as specifically gendered –as a male gaze.<sup>413</sup> The distribution of roles introduced by

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<sup>411</sup> . García del Real, E. 'Los anatómicos del siglo XVIII, y el Dr Antonio Gimbernat', in *Trabajos de la Cátedra de Historia Crítica de la Medicina*, vol. 5, 1934-35, p. 469.

<sup>412</sup> . 'No tiene Autor mas fiel y mas constante la Medicina que la Naturaleza misma... en este estudio nuestro Proto-Medico Hypocrates... Perdióse este modo de saber... hasta que al principio del siglo pasado el gran canciller de Inglaterra Verulamio corrió el velo a la naturaleza' (ibid., n.p.).

<sup>413</sup> . 'As activities, science and medicine were understood through sexual metaphors, for example by designating nature as a woman to be unveiled, unclothed and penetrated by masculine science' (Jordanova, L. *Sexual Visions. Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and the Twentieth Centuries*. New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989, p. 24).

the use of the lens implies a hierarchical order and a relation of power structured in terms of gender.

The choice of a female figure as the personification of Nature follows established conventions.<sup>414</sup> But when Nature is represented as the passive recipient of Mercury's inquisitive gaze, sight becomes gendered, thus evidencing the meaning of 'looking through (a grid or a magnifying glass)... [as] a way of ignoring, hence denying, the other as a subject'.<sup>415</sup> The allegory represented above re-enacts the unveiling of nature effected below. Within this correspondence, the dissector is, like Mercury, the bearer of the gaze projected on the corpse lying on the table. The dead body becomes the object of his examination in the same way as the female figure of Nature is unveiled above. Although Irala chooses to represent a male corpse, Sawday argues that the anatomized body is always 'alien' and 'other', passive under the 'colonizing' gaze of the anatomist and 'feminized... whatever its biological sex might be'.<sup>416</sup>

Charles III decreed that Martínez's *Anatomy* become one of the official medical texts in Spanish universities in 1777. It also specified teaching methods and dissection procedures. Two would be the settings for the professor of Anatomy to impart his knowledge. The classroom was the designated space where learning was effected by means of 'good prints, anatomical preparations, skeletons and artificial bodies'.<sup>417</sup> Dissections of human corpses and vivisections would be practised in the anatomy theatre. Accounts of the latter appear in Adams's *Micrographia Illustrata*

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<sup>414</sup> . Jordanova, op. cit., 1989, p. 96.

<sup>415</sup> . Bal, op. cit., 1991, p. 174.

<sup>416</sup> . Sawday, J. *The Body Emblazoned. Dissection and The Human Body in Renaissance Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995, pp. 95, 162.

(London, 1771) as an example of the combined use of the scalpel and the magnifying lens of the microscope. The professor of the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando Benito Bails owned a copy of this work.<sup>418</sup> Brass stretchers were used to hold the animal (usually a frog or a fish), which became ‘framed’, in Adams’s words, and subjected by means of pieces of string forming ‘a kind of lattice’ (fig. 58).<sup>419</sup> When applied to the lens of the solar microscope, the body thus subjected and displayed was rendered, literally, transparent. The mediation of the optical instrument could turn the vivisection into a spectacle that attracted curious amateur spectators, such as Charles III’s father Ferdinand VI, to the anatomical theatre.<sup>420</sup>

In the frontispiece to Martínez’s work, the anatomy theatre is privileged as the seat of medical learning. Irala maintains the division of functions between the demonstrator, standing in the foreground on the left with a knife in his hand, and the professor directing him. The latter is seated in the centre presiding over the lesson and referring every stage to the canonical (probably Hippocratic) texts in the book that he holds. The distribution of roles among the dissected body, the ‘text’ embodied by the interpretative audience and its utterance by the anatomist still follows the Renaissance parameters described by Sawday.<sup>421</sup> Medical students are seated around him or look from the balconies above. The body displayed on the central table is not only subjected to the inquisitive progressive unlayering (unveiling) effected by the dissector’s knife. It is also discussed by the students and recorded in their notes and

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<sup>417</sup> . García del Real, op. cit., p. 473.

<sup>418</sup> . Arias Saavedra, I. *Ciencia e Ilustración en las lecturas de un matemático: la biblioteca de Benito Bails*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002, p. 144.

<sup>419</sup> . Adams, G. *Micrographia illustrata: or The microscope explained*. London, 1771, pp. 18-19.

<sup>420</sup> . Cortés, V. *Anatomía, Academia y Dibujo Clásico*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1994, p. 44.

<sup>421</sup> . Sawday, op. cit., p. 127.

drawings, which echoes its transformation in ‘the blank canvas upon which the dissector mapped complex interlaced structures’.<sup>422</sup>

The dissector unwrapping the inner structure of the body became a model for the painter in Irala’s ‘Academia Simetrica Matritensis’, etched about 1739 (fig. 59).<sup>423</sup> The same architectural frame as in the *Complete Anatomy* supported by a skeleton on the right and a male *écorché* figure on the left introduces here a view of the Academy of Fine Arts. Medical students have been replaced by young painters seated around a naked male model, who stands on a pedestal in the central space formerly occupied by the corpse. In the background, several volumes on the theory of painting are lined on the shelves of a cupboard, in the place that in the former frontispiece corresponded to the lecturer of anatomy and, hence, to the texts of this discipline. Presiding over this academic anatomical lesson, Irala reproduces the same allegorical group of Mercury unveiling a reticent Nature whom he observes through his lens.

The good order and composure with which the practical teaching of anatomy is arranged in Irala’s frontispiece contrasts with contemporary accounts of dissections. There is nothing in Irala’s image to suggest the carnivalesque extremes described in contemporary accounts of dissections in eighteenth-century Italy, where some Spanish anatomists were trained. Giovanna Ferrari notices how in Bologna spectators were allowed to attend the lessons wearing masks or in full disguise.<sup>424</sup> The regulations of the Royal College of Surgeons created by Charles III in 1787

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<sup>422</sup> . Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>423</sup> . Irala, op. cit., plate 14. See also Bonet Correa, A. *Vida y Obra de fray Matías de Irala. Grabador y tratadista español del siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Turner, 1978, p. 21.



contemplated the practice of public dissections open to 'any respectable person willing to see the anatomical demonstration'.<sup>425</sup> The emphasis on the need to enforce 'silence and circumspection' among the spectators suggests, however, that this might not be always the case. Moreover, the arrangement of the space of the anatomy theatre to host an 'audience', as well as the attitude of the 'performing' dissector, retain an element of spectacle.

Order and solemnity characterise the dissection represented by Irala. Witnessed by the male students of the academy and performed in the almost religious space created by the vaulted classical architecture, the fragmentation and examination of the body is legitimated by scientific rhetoric and academic learning. The exclusion of women, only granted access to this sanitised space in the allegorical disguise of 'Nature', contributes to its singularity. But why is representational control so exercised in Irala's perfectly symmetrical and strictly hierarchical image?

Irala's depiction of dissection can be read as the means to deal with current anxieties concerning the knowledge and manipulation of the body. A *Scene of Witchcraft* attributed previously to Goya and currently to Paret (London, British Museum) suggests the representational problems underlying the practice of anatomy (fig. 60). In this undated drawing, attention is focused on the fragmented skeleton pulled towards a bonfire in the centre. Instead of the light ample space of the

<sup>424</sup> . See Ferrari, G. 'Public anatomy lessons and the Carnival: the Anatomy Theatre of Bologna', in *Past and Present*, no. 117, 1987, pp. 50-106.

<sup>425</sup> . 'Como estas lecciones han de ser públicas, deberán admitirse á las horas que se hagan no solo los concursantes, sino los Facultativos, y qualquiera otra persona decente que quiera ver las demostraciones anatómicas, zelando el Maestro de Anatomía y los demás Profesores... el que guarden los concurrentes el silencio y circunspeccion necesarias, colocados en los asientos de la gradería' (*Real Cédula de S.M. y Señores del Consejo, en que se aprueban, y mandan observar las ordenanzas formadas por el gobierno económico y escolástico del Colegio de Cirugía establecido en Madrid con el título de San Carlos*. Madrid, 1787, p. 89).

anatomical theatre, the scene is set in a dark rocky subterranean, but equally vaulted, space. The male gentlemen-anatomists dressed in coats and wigs have been replaced by three aged female naked figures with long dishevelled hair. The operation is performed within a circle surrounded by magical signs, and not on the dissection table. The female figure on the left holds a book in her left hand, thus suggesting the possibility of an non-policed, transgressive reading of the book of Nature with which dissection was compared.

The association of dissection with unruly rituals and practices of punishment evidenced in Hogarth's last plate in the *Stages of Cruelty* is only hinted at in the skeleton within a gibbet hanging on the left above. If Irala's image shows many of the elements that had characterized public dissections from the Renaissance, the same dependence on superseded models can be noticed in Martínez's text. In 1796, Jaime Bonells and Ignacio Lacaba published their *Course of Anatomy* to be used by the medical students at the Royal College of Surgeons of San Carlos.<sup>426</sup> The eight years between the last reprint of Martínez's *Anatomy* and the publication of Bonells's and Lacaba's *Course* witnessed the birth of the clinic that Foucault identifies with the shift from a 'tabular' system of knowledge to a 'functional' or structural one.<sup>427</sup>

Bonells, whose daughter Amalia and grandson Pepito Costa y Bonells were portrayed by Goya, was one of the physicians appointed by the Duchess of Alba, while Lacaba was court surgeon to Charles IV.<sup>428</sup> In their prologue to the *Course of Anatomy*, Bonells and Lacaba praised Martínez's erudition but noticed his failure to

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<sup>426</sup> . Bonells, J. and Lacaba, I. *Curso completo de anatomía del cuerpo humano*. Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1796.

<sup>427</sup> . Foucault, op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>428</sup> . See dedication to Charles IV in Bonells and Lacaba, op. cit., n.p.

distinguish between historical, physiological and pathological anatomy. In the introduction, they dismissed the merging of structural and functional observations that defined Martínez's model, as well as his inclusion of individual cases. Their aim was to restrict the scope of the *Course* to the 'historical' part of anatomy, which involved the description of every part of the body without reference to its functions.<sup>429</sup>

The study of anatomy and the practice of public dissections received the support of Charles III. He commissioned the royal architect Francesco Sabatini to design the new building that would host the Royal College of Surgeons, created in 1782. The new institution was presided by the Catalan anatomist Antonio Gimbernat, whose son Carlos belonged to the first promotion of students. A few years later, Carlos Gimbernat worked in the Spanish embassy in London, where he accompanied Leandro Fernández de Moratín during his 1793 visit. Gimbernat son suggested the purchase of John Hunter's anatomical collection by the Spanish government in 1794. In the same years, he was starting to experiment with the new printing technique of lithography, which he introduced in Spain.<sup>430</sup>

Carlos Gimbernat's interest in new printing techniques might be connected with the demands for increasingly sophisticated modes of reproduction in scientific illustrations.<sup>431</sup> In medical texts published after Martínez's *Anatomy*, the body was not seen as enclosed within an outer shell that ought to be fragmented in order to accede to what lied beneath. The male spectator inspecting a female subject through

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<sup>429</sup> . Bonells and Lacaba, op. cit., p. xxxix.

<sup>430</sup> . Fernández de Moratín, L. *Diario, Mayo 1780-Marzo 1808*, ed. R. and M. Andioc. Madrid: Castalia, 1968, p. 88. On John Hunter's cabinet, see AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8150.

his magnifying glass in Irala's frontispieces reappeared around 1797 in Goya's *Album B* (Louvre, Paris), as well as in his *Sueño 11* (Prado, Madrid). According to Schulz, both images show an 'emphasis on inspection and disguise' that corroborates the satire of sight developed in the *Caprichos*.<sup>432</sup> In the *Sueño*, the viewer examining the masked woman seated at right records his observations in a notebook, like the medical students represented by Irala in the anatomy theatre. Sight is still expected to produce knowledge which, however, is obstructed by its object in disguise.

In Goya's *Sueño*, the male observer leans forward to look at what appears to be a woman wearing a mask that covers her face. Her long dress opens under her waist to show a second mask representing a bearded man with a prominent nose. The reading of this image is rendered less ambiguous by the inscription, which characterises her as 'hermaphrodite'. The drawing has the nightmarish tone of the distorted bodies and faces pervasive in the second part of the *Caprichos*. But why is the anxiety about the 'legibility' of the body suggested in these images focused in its female form?

The plates illustrating William Hunter's *Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus* (London, 1774) were used as a model for the anatomists trained at the Royal College of Surgeons of Madrid in the 1780s. They were chosen by Lacaba when supervising the group of draughtsmen and sculptors from the Academy of San Fernando commissioned to reproduce these images in casts and wax figures for the anatomical cabinet of the college. Their progress was praised in the *Gaceta de Madrid* in 1790

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<sup>431</sup> . On the use of lithography in medical illustrations, see McGrath, R. *Seeing her Sex. Medical archives and the female body*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002, p. 26.

<sup>432</sup> . Schulz, A. *Goya's Caprichos: aesthetics, perception, and the body*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 146-48.

as promoting the advancement in the study of obstetrics.<sup>433</sup> Earlier in 1760, 'six large plates on childbirth, in English' printed by Jenty were acquired for the College of Surgeons of Barcelona, also created by Gimbernat.<sup>434</sup>

The early availability of Charles Nicholas Jenty's *The demonstrations of a pregnant uterus* (London, 1757) to be consulted by the medical students in Barcelona suggests that the advancement of obstetrics was a priority for the Spanish government. Both Hunter's and Jenty's works are innovative with respect not only to their contents, but also to the techniques and modes of representation involved in their production. Jenty's plates were mezzotinted on soft paper. The technique, the use of colour and the conventions used to represent the female body, which in some images appears half-covered by a sheet or a gown to be lifted or pulled up retain a theatricality far from the apparent detachment of Hunter's work.<sup>435</sup> The later emphatic 'marketing' of the clinical quality of his plates is not less theatrical. Hunter's plates are engraved and monochrome. They present 'immediate observation' as a marketable value, which invested this anatomical atlas with a lasting authority.<sup>436</sup> But they also establish a productive correspondence between the medical gaze and a mode of representation that succeeds in rendering its operations visible. The anatomist's selection of a specific area of the woman's body, in this case the womb, determines the difference in the degree of detail provided in each part of

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<sup>433</sup> . The article published in the *Gaceta de Madrid* dated 12/11/1790 referred to 'the excellent plates of the gravid uterus published by the celebrated William Hunter' ['las excelentes láminas del útero grávido, publicadas por el célebre Guillermo Hunter'] (see Salcedo y Ginestral, E. 'Estudio bibliográfico de D. Antonio Gimbernat y Arbós', in *Obras de Don Antonio de Gimbernat*, vol. 6, part 1, p. 250).

<sup>434</sup> . Riera, op. cit., p. 298.

<sup>435</sup> . McGrath, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>436</sup> . Ibid., p. 85.

the plate. Although the selected area is not completely isolated, its relation to the rest of the body is only suggested by means of parts 'emptied and rendered in outline'.<sup>437</sup>

Sawday has associated Rembrandt's treatment of textures with his knowledge of anatomy and with his depiction of dissections. The 'porosity' of the bodies he painted would therefore exemplify the advances of the anatomist's gaze that pierces the layers of skin. The porous quality of the surfaces represented in Meléndez's and Goya's works was also characteristic of Rembrandt's etchings, a significant number of which were available in the collection of Eugenio Izquierdo. Associated to the Royal Cabinet of Natural History, the diplomat and naturalist Eugenio Izquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun (c. 1745-1813) would be representative of a potential audience for Spanish painters operating within the new 'free' market. Izquierdo was also an important collector of prints. Between 1776 and 1778 he visited London, where he was in charge of the supervision of the students sent by the *Sociedad Bascongada*.<sup>438</sup> Townsend mentioned his studies in Paris, from where 'he was hurried away to teach the art of dying and to superintend the cloth manufacture at Guadalajara'.<sup>439</sup> His name appeared again in Campo's correspondence in the years 1785-1786, when he asked for permission to move from London to Paris.

During his travels, Izquierdo acquired a number of prints and drawings by Rembrandt, mentioned by Ceán Bermúdez and probably known to Goya.<sup>440</sup> Rose-De Viejo notices that, although Rembrandt prints were known in eighteenth-century

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<sup>437</sup> . Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>438</sup> . AGS, Secc. Estado, leg. 7001.

<sup>439</sup> . Townsend, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 247.

<sup>440</sup> . Rose-De Viejo, I. and Cohen, J. *Etched on the Memory. The Presence of Rembrandt in the Prints of Goya and Picasso*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. See also Garrido, C. 'Elementos de la luz de Rembrandt en el grabado de Goya', in *Academia*, nº 84, 1997, pp.473-494.

Spain, his 'somber naturalism' and 'careless, thick paint handling' did not agree with the taste dominant in Spanish official circles. Those were the qualities negatively rated by Campo and Llaguno in contemporary Spanish and British painting.<sup>441</sup>

As has often been remarked, Rembrandt's and Velázquez's were influences that Goya himself acknowledged.<sup>442</sup> When enhanced with the help of an optical instrument, the gaze of the naturalist reveals that the layers forming the body are far from cohesive and homogeneous. As Adams's *Micrographia* illustrates, each layer appears porous and irregular under the lens, whose adjustments enables the zooming in and out of the eye (fig. 76). His juxtapositions of close-ups and real size fragments of animal and vegetal tissues reproduces the saccadic movements of the scanning glance that Jay describes as one of the alternative scopic regimes undermining Cartesian perspectivalism.<sup>443</sup>

The difference between a 'diagonal' reading of the body in depth and the 'surface' gaze associated with clinical experience is evidenced in the shifts from distinct to indistinct vision evidenced in Adams's plates. The resulting two modes of representation can be identified with either the 'autopsical' gaze or with different forms of 'surface' gaze, as described by Foucault, who connects the latter with a notion of perception borrowed from Condillac.<sup>444</sup> In Paret's paintings, the superposition of layers corresponds to a similarly 'autopsical' notion of the construction of bodies, whose 'unveiling' must be effected by the spectator's gaze.

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<sup>441</sup> . Lafuente Ferrari, E. *Grabados y Dibujos de Rembrandt en la Biblioteca Nacional*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional and Museo de Arte Moderno, 1934, p. 23.

<sup>442</sup> . Tomlinson, J. *Goya in the Twilight of Enlightenment*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 71.

<sup>443</sup> . Jay in Foster, op. cit., 1988, p. 7.

<sup>444</sup> . Foucault, op. cit., p. 158.

Images of motherhood are pervasive in Paret's works, as has been seen. Paret's mothers are clearly distinguished in terms of occupation and social class. Peasant and working mothers holding babies or looking after young children derive from religious models or Classical allegories of Charity, as shown in *The Docks of Olaveaga* (fig. 49) and the *View of St Sebastian* (fig. 42). In the latter, the image of the peasant mother is supplemented by the figure of the spinner, both embodying 'female domestic virtue' (fig. 48).<sup>445</sup> These idealised female types comply with the iconography of the 'good mother' already established in French painting and literature.<sup>446</sup> Linda Nochlin argues, however, that this idealisation of the peasant woman identified with the 'natural order' could become the means of rationalising a social order that implied rural poverty and female subjugation.<sup>447</sup>

On the contrary, in the *View of Fuenterrabía* (fig. 43) and in the *View of the Arenal of Bilbao* (fig. 41), bourgeois and noble women are represented as delegating their responsibilities to nurses and maidservants. The ambiguity of Paret's representation of motherhood is evidenced when considering the amount of literature on the subject of breast-feeding and wet-nurses produced in the 1780s.<sup>448</sup> Clavijo y Fajardo had already condemned wet-nursing as 'detrimental to the State [and] to the health of the mother' in an essay on education published in *El Pensador* in the 1760s.<sup>449</sup> In 1784, Pedro Vidart published his translation of Landais's 'dissertation on the benefits obtained by mothers who bring up their own children' published in

<sup>445</sup> . Nochlin, L. *Representing Women*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999, pp. 88.

<sup>446</sup> . Duncan, C. 'Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in Eighteenth-Century French Art', in Broude, N. and Garrad, M. D., eds. *Feminism and Art History. Questioning the Litany*. New York: Harper & Row, 1982, p. 203.

<sup>447</sup> . Nochlin, op. cit., p. 85.



Madrid.<sup>450</sup> His position was reinforced by Bonells in his essay on the ‘damage that mothers refusing to breast-feed their children cause both to Mankind and to the State and measures to control the abuse of their recourse to wet nurses’ (Madrid, 1786).<sup>451</sup> In Paret’s paintings, the fact that bourgeois mothers keep their children near them suggests that the nurse has been included in the family group mostly as a status symbol, and not necessarily as a criticism on the mother’s morals. Only in *The trinket shop* (1772 Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano), however, the juxtaposition of motherhood and female conspicuous consumption present a higher degree of complexity that reflects the contradictions of current debates on luxury (fig. 22).

Concerns about the anatomical knowledge and visualization of the female body can be associated with enlightened politics to curb mortality rates among children and mothers and to promote the increase in population. This aim became problematic within the context of current debates on luxury and commerce focused on what was regarded as an alarming ‘feminization’ of society. The ‘dissertation on the measures to promote a rise in the number of marriages’ that appeared in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in 1788 established a direct link between female luxury and the decrease of the population.<sup>452</sup> Conflicting images of motherhood were elaborated to illustrate the widespread effects of consumption: commerce and luxury

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<sup>448</sup> . Bolufer, M. *Mujeres e Ilustración. La construcción de la feminidad en la España del siglo XVIII*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1998, pp. 239-242.

<sup>449</sup> . Cited in Katzew, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>450</sup> . Landais, M. D. *Disertación sobre las utilidades que se siguen de criar las propias madres a sus hijos*, transl. Pedro Vidart. Madrid, 1784.

<sup>451</sup> . Bonells, J. *Perjuicios que acarrear al género humano y al Estado las Madres que rehusan criar a sus hijos y medios para contener el abuso de ponerlos en Ama*. Madrid, 1786.

<sup>452</sup> . ‘Dissertation on the measures to promote an increase in the number of marriages’, in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no 141, 18/08/1788, p. 267-71.

‘feminized’ men and produced ‘unnatural’ women oblivious to their duties as mothers and wives.<sup>453</sup>

The influence of the Scottish enlightenment led some Spanish authors to consider that even conspicuous consumption could serve the common good as a source of employment conducive to a generalized welfare. In his *Dissertation on the honesty of trade* presented to the *Sociedad Bascongada* in 1778, the economist and translator of Condillac’s *Logique* Valentín de Foronda suggested that the vanity of the upper classes provides artisans and their families with the means to earn their living. Foronda specifically referred to the ‘better health and higher rate of fertility of the artisans’ wives, whose children are more robust and, therefore, live longer’.<sup>454</sup> The interdependence of the virtuous sobriety of the labouring poor and the apparently objectionable, but ultimately beneficial display of luxury of an upper class of non-productive consumers is also the subject of Paret’s views. The way in which he has recourse to female figures to embody the moral paradoxes of conspicuous consumption belongs to a specific stage within the long process of ‘hardening up and rationalization... of clearly “separated spheres” for the two sexes, in social practice as well as in representation’.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> . Haidt, op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>454</sup> . ‘Las mujeres de los artesanos son más sanas y fecundas, sus hijos mas robustos, y por consiguiente de mas larga vida’ (Foronda, V. ‘Disertación sobre lo honrosa que es la profesion del comercio. Leída en las Juntas Generales que celebró la Sociedad Bascongada en Bilbao el año de 1778’, in *Miscelánea o colección de varios discursos*. Madrid, 1787, p. 5).

<sup>455</sup> . Nochlin, op. cit., 1999, p. 79.

## 2. Visuality re-embodied

### *Gendering luxury*

Goya's series of cartoons for the antechambers of the Prince and Princess of Asturias at the palace of El Pardo includes two other views of fairs and marketplaces, in addition to the one depicted in *The Blind Guitarist*. The *Crockery Vendor* has long been interpreted as establishing a correlation between the goods on sale and the young women intending to purchase them (fig. 61).<sup>456</sup> The cartoon focuses on the woman holding a bowl while listening to the seller in an absorbed attitude similar to Paret's representation of female consumption in the *Trinket Shop*. The woman distractedly feels the surface of the merchandise without even looking at it. *The Fair of Madrid* (fig. 8), however, has usually been read in terms of the relationship between the obliging mercer bowing on the left and the male customer elegantly dressed in a silk yellow coat.<sup>457</sup> But Goya's depiction of the mixed flattery and condescension that mark business relations in the marketplace is not as straightforward as it appears. His own description of the painting transfers the focus of the composition from the man in yellow to the woman standing slightly behind:

The first [cartoon] represents a view of the Fair during its season. It shows a mercer in front of his shop dealing with a lady to whom he tries to sell a trinket. She is escorted by two gentlemen, one with an eyeglass through which he looks at the paintings on sale; other four men can be seen behind them; more people seen in distance.<sup>458</sup>

<sup>456</sup> . Tomlinson, op. cit., 1989, p. 86.

<sup>457</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 1988, p. 83.

<sup>458</sup> . 'El primero representa pasaje de Ferias en el Tpô de ellas, q.e es una prenderia delante de ella, el prendero tratando de la ventta de una alaja con una Señora, a quien acompañan dos caballeros, el uno

Goya's words focus on the figure of the woman, who in the painting is relegated to a secondary position. Her face is half-covered by a thin veil falling over her eyes. Her body disappears under the stiff fabrics of the black overskirt and the pink and blue shawl crossed over her chest. She points towards the goods on sale with her fan, while her escort holds her left arm. In comparison with the man in yellow, the figure of the woman appears smaller and blurred, standing slightly behind him. Despite being the centre of the composition where she occupies the main vertical axis, the spectator's attention is diverted from the woman to the bright combination of yellow, blue and red on her right. This chromatic focus is created by the juxtaposition of the coats of the two men in the foreground and the cloak of a third man half-seen behind them.

What does this shift of emphasis from the actual transaction between the seller and the female customer signify? In *The Complete English Tradesman*, Defoe selects the same characters and scenery as Goya and Paret in order to show the 'corrupt' ends of the 'mass of impertinent flattery to the buyer' characterising 'shop-rhetorick'. Defoe's manual was published in 1738, but it was listed in Sancha's catalogue as late as 1787. In *The Complete English Tradesman*, the imposition of dubious commercial practices upon gullible customers driven by vanity and pride is illustrated by the shopping expedition of 'a lady... to a mercer's shop to buy some silks, or to the laceman's to buy some silver laces'.<sup>459</sup> Any representation of the marketplace was vulnerable to the 'cultural contradictions of commercial society'

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con un Antiojo mirando ziertos quadros q.e ay de Benta, detras de estos se descubren otros quatro, y a mas distanzia varias jentes' (reproduced in Sambricio, op. cit., doc. 52, p. xxix)

explored in Defoe's work.<sup>459</sup> But the protagonist role of women in Goya's cartoons, as in Paret's *Trinket Shop*, narrows the scope of the contradiction to expose the paradox of their power as consumers who simultaneously remain an object of consumption (fig. 22).<sup>461</sup>

In 1788, a pamphlet entitled *Discourse on the ladies' luxury and project for a national costume* was published by the royal press in Madrid.<sup>462</sup> The anonymous author, a man pretending to be a woman, signed with the initials 'M. O.' and dedicated his work to the prime minister Count of Floridablanca.<sup>463</sup> He had recourse to the usual commonplaces of the debate, like the condemnation of luxury as a social leveller, a corrupting influence in customs and morals and the means of diverting national wealth towards foreign countries. But the pamphlet also partook of the changes and contradictions that had marked the evolution of the idea of luxury during previous decades.<sup>464</sup> The author's position oscillated uneasily between the plain rejection of what he termed 'the corruption and the pest of Spain' and the necessity of promoting consumption. He found a compromise in the distinction between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' manifestations of luxury, the latter including female fashions. As Mónica Bolufer observes, although sumptuary laws and projects for national costumes were not new, those proposed in the *Discourse*

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<sup>459</sup> . Defoe, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 257.

<sup>460</sup> . Klein, L. E. 'Politeness for plebes. Consumption and social identity in early eighteenth-century England', in Brewer and Bermingham, op. cit., p. 373.

<sup>461</sup> . Brewer, J. ' "The most polite age and the most vicious". Attitudes towards culture as a commodity, 1660-1800', in Brewer and Bermingham, op. cit., pp. 348-49.

<sup>462</sup> . O., M. *Discurso sobre el luxô de las señoras, y proyecto de un traje nacional*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1788.

<sup>463</sup> . Bolufer, op.cit, p. 169.

<sup>464</sup> . Sekora, op. cit., p. 2.

were significant because of their gendering of unacceptable luxury as specifically female.<sup>465</sup>

The same contradiction between promoting consumption and restraining its socially disruptive effects appears even more evident in Sempere's *History of Luxury* published in the same year also by the royal press. Moreover, the author was a member of the Economic Society of Madrid and the work was, again, dedicated to Floridablanca. But Sempere's views were openly based on Mandeville and Hume.<sup>466</sup> He considered luxury as a 'minor evil' necessary to the prosperity of the country. Since it could not be suppressed, Sempere suggested that luxury be controlled and policed by the statesman's careful management of the passions of the people.<sup>467</sup>

In the *Discourse*, 'the luxury of the ladies' is identified with the moral depravity and deception associated with 'female' fashions and entertainment, such as theatre and masquerades. The pamphlet showed luxury and its negative consequences as clearly gendered. Its social and moral effects were embodied by the *petimetra*, whose defiance of current 'norms of gendered behavior' had its male counterpart in the *petimetre* or fop.<sup>468</sup> The *petimetre's* exaggerated concern with fashion led the anonymous author of the *Libro de Moda* to assert that the fop was one with his 'clothes and trinkets'. Paraphrasing contemporary philosophical writings dealing with the problem of the site of the soul, the satirist asserted that clothes 'are a

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<sup>465</sup> . Bolufer, op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>466</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1788, p. 199.

<sup>467</sup> . Ibid., pp. 209-210.

<sup>468</sup> . Haidt, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

substantial part of his being... the site of his soul is his outfit, his body vegetates abandoned and neglected by his spirit'.<sup>469</sup>

The subversion of established sexual roles associated with the figure of the *petimetre* has been identified as the subject of Goya's *Hercules and Omphale* (1784, Madrid, Private Collection). This is the aspect emphasised by López Torrijos, who connects the painting with the literary works and debates on the 'feminization' of Spanish society produced in the *tertulias* attended by many of Goya's female patrons.<sup>470</sup> Omphale was one of those classical female figures, such as Campaspe or Circe, usually presented as an example of the 'castrating' effects that the involvement of women in the public sphere had for men. There were, however, attempts to subvert this use of the myth.

In her open letter to Goya's patron Francisco Cabarrús published in Madrid in 1787, Mme. Levacher de Valincourt chooses the myth of Hercules and Omphale to refute the banker's speech against the admission of women as members of literary societies. In order to appease his concerns about the submission of men to women's 'frivolity', she reverts to the same scene depicted by Goya and writes 'that Hercules's spinning at Omphale's feet did not prevent him from being a great hero'.<sup>471</sup> Only three months later, a satire translated from the French and entitled

<sup>469</sup> . 'No os admireis de ver identificar con el *ente currutaco* sus ropas y sus dijes. Forman una parte substancial de su ser. Yo creo por una opinión particular, pero verosímil, que su alma reside en sus vestidos, que el cuerpo vegeta abandonado y descuidado por el espíritu' (Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., p. 24).

<sup>470</sup> . López Torrijos, R. 'Goya y la Fábula Burlesca', in *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, vol. 16, 1995, pp. 21-28. See also Wilson-Bareau, op. cit., 1994, cat. 18, p. 154.

<sup>471</sup> . 'Si me fuera permitido tomar un egemplo de la fábula, diria que por haber hilado Hercules á los pies de Omphala no por eso dexó de ser un grande Heroe' ('Carta al Sr. D. Francisco Cabarrús... en respuesta al Discurso que pronunció en la Real Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País, establecida en Madrid, contra la admisión de las señoras mugeres en las Sociedades Literarias, por Madama Levacher de Valincourt', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, nº 75, 22/12/1787, p. 62).

'Petition submitted by husbands to the tribunal of fashion' appeared in the same journal. The author ridiculed in similar terms the reversal of roles resulting from women's disordered luxury and obsession with fashion, although there was no explicit mention of the myth:

With the utmost impatience we expect the time of our liberation, since the present developments threaten us with the newly acquired obligation of grasping the distaff and the spindle to obtain our shirts and other necessary linen. How nicely would this practice suit our beards and wigs!<sup>472</sup>

*Hercules and Omphale* shows the centrifugal composition favoured by Goya in the tapestry cartoons (fig. 62). The central arrangement of primary colours is emphasised by means of the distribution of light. The combination of classical and sixteenth-century elements, as well as the striped silky sleeves and the red ribbons decorating his armour, rendered Hercules's attire theatrical. Although the two young women in the picture wear the satin loose robes fashionable at the end of the century, accessories like the plumed hat or the fur-trimmed lilac cloak create the 'masquerading' effect identified as characteristic of eighteenth century female portraiture.<sup>473</sup>

Hercules sits on a stool lower than the chair occupied by the young woman in white, thus reproducing the attitude of the couple in sixteenth-century Spanish

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<sup>472</sup> . 'Con la mayor impaciencia aguardamos el momento de nuestra libertad, y tanto mas lo aguardamos atendido el curso de las cosas, quanto nos vemos amenazados de una nueva obligacion de agarrar el huso y la rueca para que no perezcan nuestras camisas y demas lienzo necesarios ¡Y qué bien diria este exercicio con nuestras barbas y pelucas!' ('Pedimento presentado por los maridos al tribunal de la moda', in *ibid.*, nº 116, 31/3/1788, p. 72).

<sup>473</sup> . Ribeiro, A. *The dress worn at masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its relations to fancy dress in portraiture*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1984.



costume on the left side of Paret's *Comedy rehearsal* (fig. 19).<sup>474</sup> But while the latter shows an instance of ancient manners and morals, where this subordination is symbolic and deferential, in Goya's work the man has been lowered and the result intended to be comic. The sword (instead of the club mentioned in the original fable), clearly seen under the man's cape in Paret's painting, is now held by the woman smiling in the background. Luxury is to blame for this altered order of things: the composition is focused on the glittering work-box on Omphale's lap, which could be associated with the 'trinkets' identified by moral writers with female consumption.

The subversion implied by female luxury was both sexual and social. The *Discourse* referred to women wearing 'costumes similar to those who are wealthier and of a higher rank than them, with the intention of ... performing in the world a better role than the one which they had been assigned'.<sup>475</sup> This social masquerading was denounced as in need of regulation by the magistrate Meléndez Valdés, who complained that 'scandalous luxury' had rendered 'both prostitutes and the highest nobility... undistinguishable in their airs and dress'.<sup>476</sup> Luxury turned social life into a permanent carnival and, hence, into a nightmare for enlightenment policy. The city became 'a space wherein populations driven by desire may meet and couple carelessly in secret, their potential encounters innumerable', as Haidt remarked with respect to Nicolás Moratín's 'topography' of urban prostitution.<sup>477</sup>

<sup>474</sup> . Omphale according to López Torrijos, Iole in contemporary Spanish texts and one of the queen's attendants, according to Wilson Bareau. For the confusion between Omphale and Iole, see Bull, M. *The Mirror of the Gods*. London: Allen Lane, 2005, pp. 132-133.

<sup>475</sup> . 'Se notará... un cierto estudio en usar trages semejantes á las de los otros que tienen más dinero y más graduacion, con el fin de confundirse con ellas, y representar en el mundo mejor papel que el que se les ha dado' (O., M., op. cit., p. 12).

<sup>476</sup> . Cited in Pérez Sánchez and Sayre, op. cit., 1989, p. 76.

<sup>477</sup> . Haidt, op. cit., p. 102.

The link between female luxury and prostitution was common within the eighteenth-century British literary tradition.<sup>478</sup> Similarly, Spanish satirists and moral writers also portrayed conspicuous consumption as motivated by the uncontrolled 'female' passions of vanity and pride. Like Sempere, they wondered 'who can circumscribe the sphere of men's and women's desires and whims?'<sup>479</sup> Stirred by the 'dazzling of sight', those 'desires and whims' resulted from the primacy of the passions and imagination over reason, which was characteristically female. Corruption was thus assimilated into the field of vision and identified with the female body as both its symbol and its site of contention.

The corruption of morals associated with consumption and trade is evidenced in Manuel de la Cruz's *The Fair of Madrid at the Plaza de la Cebada* (c. 1780, Madrid, Museo Municipal). Cruz's representation of the marketplace has been considered a source for Goya's second series of tapestry cartoons and, more precisely, for *The Crockery Vendor* and *The Fair of Madrid*. The Madrid square chosen by Cruz also appeared in the background of Goya's *Blind Guitarist*. As in Goya's cartoons, in Cruz's painting women are protagonists not only as consumers, but also as spectators (fig. 63). The female street-sellers sitting on the right lower corner of the composition neglect their baskets of fruit and flowers absorbed in the spectacle provided by the two richly dressed women in the centre. But the problematic status of woman within the process of consumption becomes obvious in the group on the left. Two fashionably dressed young women are seated surrounded by three men. One of them stares at the viewer directing his or her attention to the fine fabric of the white mantle covering the head and shoulders of her companion.

<sup>478</sup> . Jones, V. 'Luxury, Satire and Prostitute Narratives', in Berg and Eger, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>479</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1788, p. 164 (appendix 2b).

The man next to the latter follows her example and lifts his right hand to touch the mantle. A soldier standing behind joins in the appreciation of the woman's finery.

The woman who is the object of such close examination remains still holding a fan in her hand decorated with bracelets, her head upright and her gaze lost. All sorts of commercial transactions occur in the surrounding stalls: pottery and crockery are sold in the foreground, antiques and decorative objects appear in the stall in the background. Among the pieces on display, next to a clock and on the edge of the table covered with a blue cloth, there is a camera obscura. Cruz included this device within a scene of everyday life and 'picturesque' types similar to the images often associated with magic lanterns and optical shows. The red notice hanging above refers jokingly to the stall where 'Fresh Hair-dresses from Paris' are on sale. Under the sign, a woman covered in a dark mantle that falls over her face examines the goods observed by the female seller and two other figures.

### *Donning the veil*

How was the debate on the presence of women in the public sphere addressed in female portraiture? Paret's sketch for a portrait of the Princess of Asturias

(London, British Museum) exemplifies his method of layering by means of the superimposition of different hues of grey wash (fig. 64).<sup>480</sup> The use of the arabesque as a compositional device also contributes to the effect of wrapping and unwrapping. The small delicate figure of the sitter emerges among the concentric arrangement of enveloping layers. The upright disposition of the head and shoulders suggest her determination to whom a great amount of influence in her husband's artistic and political choices was attributed. Her body, however, disappears among the folds formed by the silk fabric of her court dress, the rococo shape of the sofa and the curtains in the background.

The sketch lacks the stiffness of the traditional state portrait. The royal sitter appears in an interior decorated with paintings and clocks that suggests the privacy of her cabinet and not necessarily a palatial chamber. Her informal pose and elegant evening dress lack the insignia of power and authority of official male portraits. Paret's sketch for a portrait of Charles IV (Madrid, Museo del Prado) shows the king with an imposing background of pillars open to a garden on the right, and with a hunting dog and guns laying on the floor in the foreground.<sup>481</sup> The portrait of his wife, however, has a more domestic, secluded character.

The portrait of María Luisa as Princess of Asturias can be dated between 1765 and 1775. The attitude of the young woman, her dress and the luxurious decoration recall French models like the portrait of Madame de Pompadour by François Boucher (1756, Munich, Alte Pinakothek). Even at this early stage, the creation of the public image of the Italian-born princess posed problems of

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<sup>480</sup> . BM 1890,1209.49.

<sup>481</sup> . F.D. 1503, Morales y Marín, op. cit., 1997, cat. 125, p. 188.

representation and it would not have benefited from this French connection. The 'foreignness' of the Bourbon cabinet had provoked strong reactions around the date of the Esquilache revolts, which involved a strong nationalist element. Foreign and, more specifically French, tastes and fashions became the object of moral criticism and popular disapproval. France was to blame for a disadvantageous war against Britain, which contributed to the increasing feeling of discontent with the dependence of Spanish foreign policy on the Family Pact between the two Bourbon kings. These political negative associations can be extended to economic aspects closer to the field of consumption. Luxury goods, identified as essentially French, caused a mix of fascination and moral reprobation.

Paret's choice of model is problematic when taking into account the association between French luxury and depraved morals. The latter issue was even more sensitive when dealing with the public image of the future Spanish queen, whose popular perception has been compared by Paulson with that of Marie Antoinette.<sup>482</sup> During her time as Princess the rumours about her supposedly libertine conduct were relatively unimportant.<sup>483</sup> However, her portrait in the fashion of a French bluestocking would not have neutralized the negative effects of contemporary accounts of the Spanish court, which already portrayed María Luisa as an influential, woman, whose dominant character contrasted with that of the weaker Prince.<sup>484</sup> This could be the reason why her engraved portrait by Juan Antonio Salvador Carmona in 1778 included the figure of a veiled woman like that in the background of Paret's

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<sup>482</sup> . Paulson, R. *Representations of Revolution (1789-1820)*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983, p. 301.

<sup>483</sup> . Bottineau, op. cit., 1986, p. 89.

<sup>484</sup> . Ibid., p. 89.

*Comedy Rehearsal* and in Goya's *Walk in Andalucía* (fig. 65).<sup>485</sup> The symbolic body of the future queen becomes the site of 'aesthetic and ideological confusion' associated with public representations of women at a time when the boundaries between public and private are being redefined.<sup>486</sup>

What could be perceived as the princess' transgressive pretensions to an independent role beyond the feminine private sphere is kept in check by Paret through emphasising the harmless domesticity of the setting. Instead of books and writing materials, María Luisa holds a small dog on her lap and a fan in her right hand. The domestic element of the portrait is evidenced in another drawing in ink (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) representing an unidentified young woman in a similar domestic interior (fig. 66).<sup>487</sup> The painter reproduces the setting and the dress already used in his portrait of the princess. He dispenses, however, with the layers of wash to use only fluid lines that create a centrifugal effect by barely outlining the borders of the composition.

In Paret's sketch, the female sitter is seated in the same rococo sofa, but she turns her body to the right while lowering her eyes and averting her face from the viewer, thus appearing unstable instead of steady. The carefully contained, closed composition of the London drawing is replaced here by an open playful disposition of the female body, closer to Boucher's or Watteau's drawings. In Paret's study for a portrait of María Luisa, it is the composition, as well as his handling of the

<sup>485</sup> . Páez, op. cit., IH 5386.12, p. 177.

<sup>486</sup> . Perry, G. 'Women in disguise: likeness, the Grand Style and the conventions of 'feminine' portraiture in the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds', in Perry, G. and Rossington, M. eds. *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994, p. 19.

<sup>487</sup> . Morales, op. cit., 1997, cat. 161, p. 195.

complicated arrangement of layers, which creates distance and denies access. The result is an uneasy balance between the female sitter's passive reception of the spectator's gaze and the effort that the latter must undertake to proceed with the perceptual process of unveiling demanded by the image.

The peculiarity of Paret's use of the conventions of female portraiture is evidenced when compared with the treatment of this genre in a sketch dated in 1781 (London, British Museum).<sup>488</sup> The drawing, also in grey wash and ink, is signed by the court painter under whom he studied at the Academy of San Fernando, Antonio González Velázquez (fig. 67).<sup>489</sup> The sitter appears standing and facing front leaning on a piece of furniture, with a curtain in the background. González Velázquez seems to be merely trying his hand at the repertory of formats available, since the woman's face is left blank. Her elaborate hairstyle and elegant robe, as well as the arrangement of the interior, become the defining features of the figure, whose facial features are barely discernible. The layers of wash are much more simplified, thus subduing and unifying the composition, which is rendered more accessible to the spectator's gaze.

In Paret's sketch, the self-contained enclosed body created by means of his layering offered a possible solution to the conflict between female domesticity and royal authority. González Velázquez simplifies the formula to create a viable type of bourgeois female portrait, where the emphasis is set upon her body read as a sign of domesticity. Standing between her chair and her writing-table, González Velázquez's woman turns her head slightly to left, seemingly interrupted by the viewer while writing a letter. She holds the flower in her right hand to her chest and a handkerchief

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<sup>488</sup> . BM 1998,0214.4

<sup>489</sup> . Delgado, op. cit., p. 68.

in her left. In this sense, the image is a highly theatrical enactment of an eighteenth-century notion of femininity.

José Camarón's *Woman in Turkish Costume* (London, British Museum) conflates the conventions of female portraiture and anonymous masquerade (fig. 68).<sup>490</sup> A young woman appears seated surrounded by cushions and pillows on a richly embroidered carpet, wearing a Turkish robe and hair-dress. A curtain hanging behind her on the right separates her from the garden, where a sculpture of a *putto* climbing onto a sphinx, a fountain and a black female servant can be seen. The verso of the drawing is annotated with detailed instructions concerning the colours of the woman's costume. The sketch might be a preparatory drawing for a colour print or a study for a theatrical costume. In April 1785, one of the correspondents of the ambassador Campo writes about a *tableau vivant* representing the story of 'Suleyman and Roxolana' (*sic*) organised as a private entertainment at the house of a Madrid noblewoman:

The *tablones*, as some snobs call them, that is, the *tableaux*, or *retablos*, like that of Maese Pedro, are the most fashionable pastime in Madrid: in case you have not heard of this, although it is also the latest fashion in Paris, a few people form a group as if they were performing a historical episode, but only by adopting the attitudes of the characters, without moving or speaking, so it is neither a play, nor a pantomime.<sup>491</sup>

<sup>490</sup> . BM 1973,0120.4.

<sup>491</sup> . 'Es pues la diversión de moda de Madrid los tablones como dicen algunas remilgadas, esto es, des tableaux, ó retablos como el de Maese Pedro: quiero decir por si Vm. no ha oido hablar de esto aunque es de la última moda en París, que esto se reduce a que entre varias gentes forman un grupo como si representasen algun lance historico, pero es solo poniendose en actitud las gentes sin hablar ni moverse, de manera que ni es representacion ni pantomima' (AGS, Secc. Estado 8157).



'feeling of indecorum' commonly attached to women's choice of the Turkish costume in masque balls.<sup>497</sup>

The element of artifice or masquerade is emphasised in Camarón's drawing by the sitter's made-up face. Her braided hair decorated with flowers and pearls, her hairnet and her beauty spots identify her as an eighteenth-century Western woman. A similar 'cultural masquerade' characterizes a likely source for Camarón's drawing:<sup>498</sup> the female figure in Turkish dress reproduces Carle Van Loo's *A Sultana taking coffee* (1755, St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum). This work was commissioned from Van Loo by Madame de Pompadour for her bedchamber decorated as a *chambre à la turque* at Bellevue (fig. 69).<sup>499</sup> The Turkish woman, who has been identified as Pompadour herself, turns her face towards a black maidservant who pours coffee in her cup.<sup>500</sup> Camarón's detailed reproduction of the dress and head-piece does not follow the patterns established in current repertoires of Turkish costumes. He copies the costume represented by Van Loo after original Turkish paintings in the French royal collection.<sup>501</sup> The scene is set in a domestic, Turkish-style interior, with a closed window in the background on the left and a curtain hanging on the right.

In contrast with Van Loo's depiction of private, intimate, or domestic spaces perceived as 'feminine' within the context of the eighteenth-century separation of public and private spheres, Camarón's positioning of the female figure is more

<sup>497</sup> . Ribeiro, op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>498</sup> . On Van Loo's painting as 'cultural cross-dressing', see Boer, I. E. 'This is not the Orient: theory and postcolonial practice', in Bal, M. and Boer, E. I., eds. *The Point of Theory*. New York: Continuum, 1994, pp. 212-213.

<sup>499</sup> . Stein, P. 'Madame de Pompadour and the Harem Imagery at Bellevue', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 123, n° 1500, January 1994, pp. 29-44.

<sup>500</sup> . For this identification, see *ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>501</sup> . Stein, op. cit., p. 37.

ambiguous.<sup>502</sup> His Turkish woman sits under a tent open to a garden. Van Loo's women are represented absorbed in their everyday activities, apparently oblivious of the spectator's gaze. Camarón relegates the maidservant to a second term, but both women are facing forward and addressing the viewer. Their awareness of his or her gaze reinforces the theatricality created by the setting and the fancy dress.

What knowledge of Bellevue *turqueries* could Camarón have? The changes to the Pompadour painting suggest that the Spanish draughtsman might be following a derivation from the original French model. In 1775, four tapestry cartoons by Charles Amédée Philippe Van Loo based upon the Bellevue Turkish paintings were exhibited at the Salon in Paris. According to Stein, they were the only outcome of an old project to weave a series of tapestries showing *Des Usages et Modes du Levant* at the Gobelins.<sup>503</sup> Despite the failure of the French project, the annotations detailing the colour scheme of the composition on the verso of Camarón's drawing suggest that a similar program might have been undertaken in the Spanish factory, where Camarón was employed to design tapestry cartoons.

The 'orientalized' and 'commodified' woman becomes once more the central subject for ornamental tapestries. Explicitly characterized as a Westerner, the Oriental dress of the masquerading sultana suggests her status as a luxury commodity within the enclosed space of the seraglio. The aforementioned element of masquerade and theatricality, however, allows the female sitter to retain a certain degree of agency over her representation, as shown in Pompadour's choice.<sup>504</sup> The

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<sup>502</sup> . See Scott, K. 'Framing Ambition: the Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour' in *Art History*, vol. 28, n° 2, 2005, pp. 272-273.

<sup>503</sup> .Stein, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>504</sup> . Ibid., p. 40.

‘Turkish’ costume appears as an option for noble female sitters to control the process of fashioning the self.<sup>505</sup>

In Campomanes’s *Discourse on the Encouragement of the Popular Education of Craftsmen* (1775), the tradition that kept Spanish women confined within the home and, hence, out of everyone’s sight (including the government), was a Moorish inheritance that ‘orientalized’ them.<sup>506</sup> Campomanes remarked the loss that they represented for the economy, as well as the moral damage caused by their lack of a productive occupation. These moral dangers were identified with the traditional Spanish costume as a form of disguise associated with a relaxation of female customs and morals, as noticed in Townsend’s description:

They all put on the *basquina* [*sic*], or black silk petticoat, and the *mantilla*, which serves the double purpose of a cloak and a veil, so as completely, if required, hide the face. Thus disguised, they are at perfect liberty to go wherever they please.<sup>507</sup>

The veil could function as a device offering women a degree of control over the artifice of self-presentation. The possibility to escape surveillance explains why the figure of the ‘Oriental’ woman was constructed negatively by the *ilustrados*. Thus Campomanes conjured the image of the seraglio to denounce the moral disadvantages of confining women to the domestic sphere.<sup>508</sup> He contrasted the pernicious leisure of Southern women with the activities of women in those areas of Spain that he considered exempt from Oriental influence. Campomanes singled out

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<sup>505</sup> . Pointon, M. ‘Killing Pictures’, in Barrell, J. ed. *Painting and the Politics of Culture. New Essays on British Art 1700-1850*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 45.

<sup>506</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1775, p. 362 (appendix 5c).

<sup>507</sup> . Townsend, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 143.

the Basque provinces to describe the variety of occupations in which women could be productively engaged, either in the fields or in the ports, as has been seen in Paret's paintings.

The Spanish veil or *mantilla* was also condemned on economic grounds because of its association with imported fabrics. Townsend referred the failure of the Bourbon government to prevent the consumption of these foreign luxury commodities. Despite the 'watchfulness and energy' of its officers, the traveller recalled how in Spain 'all the men appeared in Manchester cotton goods, and no woman was without her muslin veil'.<sup>509</sup> Queen María Luisa's reputation as a follower of fashion and as consumer of the latest imports was also mentioned by Townsend.<sup>510</sup> In 1778, the princess of Asturias was portrayed by Juan Antonio Salvador Carmona in an engraving that shows her half-length, wearing a complicated head-dress decorated with three white feathers, braids, flowers and diamonds (fig. 64).<sup>511</sup> The striped frame is half-covered by a curtain in the background, whereas a cornucopia, some books, a music score and a prayer's book appear below. A female figure wearing a mantle and draped as a Roman matron is drawn on a sheet of paper, suggesting both the princess's interest in the arts and her identification with a Classical ideal type embodying domestic virtues.

In Paret's *Comedy rehearsal*, the faces of the three women on the right are veiled by their *mantillas* (fig. 19). At least one of them is a mother, whose small child stands next to her clutching the satin of her black *basquiña*. This group of men

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<sup>508</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1775, p. 363.

<sup>509</sup> . Townsend, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 369.

<sup>510</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>511</sup> . Páez, op. cit., IH 5386.12.

and women wearing modern fashionable costumes is opposed to the couple dressed in the old Spanish style in the foreground under a red curtain. Paret's 'comedy' would be that of contemporary social manners, morals and habits, where women play protagonist, albeit conflictive, roles.

Such conflict is also suggested in the *Portrait of María de las Nieves Micaela Fourdinier, the artist's wife* (c. 1780-89 Madrid, Museo del Prado; fig. 70). She is represented in a domestic interior, thus following the 'bourgeois' model of female portraiture suggested in Antonio González Velázquez's sketch (fig. 67). A desk with flowers, books and writing materials can be seen behind the sitter, who enjoys the light pastime provided by the elegant music box and the singing bird. The elaborate head-dress made of gauze, pearls and flowers, the white satin robe and the red velvet coat trimmed with fur and golden ribbons over the white lace of the collar and cuffs follow current French fashions. The combination of red and gold in the coat is echoed in the lavish binding of one of the books behind. Paret emphasises this correspondence by means of the light falling on the cover of the book in an apparently incoherent way.

Micaela Fourdinier turns her head to the left, thus showing the contrast between the paleness of her neck and breast and the red hue of her exposed cheek. As Angela Rosenthal has observed, 'the blush secures the object-subject hierarchy of... the Pygmalion-like agency of the man and the materiality of the woman'.<sup>512</sup> This convention of eighteenth-century female portraiture refers to the role of the body

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<sup>512</sup> . Rosenthal, A. 'Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture', in *Art History*, vol. 27, n° 4, 2004, p. 582.

and, more precisely, of the skin, as an index of 'the inner motions of the soul'.<sup>513</sup> The fact that this legible body is specifically gendered and associated with the cosmetic 'management' of appearances turns the female sitter into passive 'site for optical consumption'.<sup>514</sup> Rosenthal and Scott suggest, however, the possibility that this emphasis on skin, textures and colour offers for the sense of touch to contest the primacy of sight within the field of representation.

The painter's wife is represented as seen through an open window, with a dedication in Greek inscribed on a plaque below and a rose tree decorating the improvised frame. The fictitious nature of the window is, however, revealed by the perspective lines, which do not correspond to those of the inner space. The progress of the spectator's gaze into the frame is disrupted, so that the sitter is brought closer to the viewer, as evidenced in the area occupied by her knees protruding into the foreground under the folds of the dress. This disruption reveals the structure of the image in a succession of layers of which those between the sitter and the window have been suppressed.

The shiny white and red surfaces of the woman's clothes are thus superimposed onto the curtain hanging from right to left crossing over the striped fabric that covers the wall in the background. This combination of colours and materials reproduces the hues of her complexion, thus suggesting the parallel between clothing and skin.<sup>515</sup> The physician Daniel Turner, whose treatise on the skin could be found in the Royal College of Surgeons of Madrid in 1787, counted

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<sup>513</sup> . Ibid. p. 575.

<sup>514</sup> . Ibid., p. 564.

<sup>515</sup> . Grosz, E. *Volatile Bodies. Toward a corporeal feminism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 80.

among the functions of the skin 'to be the Medium of Touch', to 'be made an Index or Criterion of the Temperament or Constitution' and to reveal 'those new Modifications of the Soul, which from its suffering thereby, have received the Name of Passions'.<sup>516</sup> The 'transparency' of the body is made possible by 'the mutual Tye and Commerce betwixt the Sensitive Part of Man, or that corporeal Soul... that according to the Presentment of Outward Objects, it is variously affected'.<sup>517</sup> The study of the passions and of their external signs offers an example of empirical inquiry that does not consider the object under the medical gaze as passive. On the contrary, this 'object' is presented in terms of his or her awareness of other objects and subjects and, hence, expected to react.

The luxury of the dress and the furniture in Paret's depiction of his wife has been remarked in terms of its contrast with his declaration of insolvency at the time of his death, considered as evidence of the 'imaginary' nature of the portrait.<sup>518</sup> His emphasis on materiality could also be regarded, however, as an alternative mode of representation conducive to the re-embodiment of visuality. Paret's detailed depiction of the textures of the different fabrics appeals not only to the sense of sight, but also to its combination with touch. The fact that all the examples of visuality re-embodied described above belong to female portraiture does not imply a reductive binarism of 'sight / touch' as 'male / female'.<sup>519</sup> It shows nevertheless a shift of

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<sup>516</sup> . Turner, D. *De Morbis Cutaneous. A Treatise of Diseases incident to the Skin*. London, 1736, pp. ii, 157. 'Turner's on the skin' appears in the list of books purchased through the Spanish ambassador Campo from P. Elmsley in 1787 (AGS Secc. Estado, leg. 8155, reproduced in Riera, op.cit, 1976, p. 315).

<sup>517</sup> . Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>518</sup> . Blanco, op. cit., pp. 299-300.

<sup>519</sup> . Vasseleu, C. *Textures of Light. Vision and Touch in Irigaray, Levinas and Merleau-Ponty*. London: Routledge, 1998, p. 14.

emphasis from the subject to the object, whose 'expressive body' defies the occularcentrism that granted the former's privileged position.<sup>520</sup>

These examples only announce the 'shift of emphasis from the visual to the material' which Lajer-Burcharth locates in the eve of Condillac's 'philosophical materialism'.<sup>521</sup> Condillac's influence in Spain has often been associated with the figure of the princess of Asturias, whose tutor he had been in Parma.<sup>522</sup> Condillac's *Logic* was translated to Spanish in 1784, but before that date, the physician Piquer questioned an exclusive reliance on the sense of sight in his *Logic*, published in 1771. He proposed a model of perception based on the interdependence of the senses, the nervous system and the operation of 'judgement'. Piquer suggested the need to combine the data obtained from different senses as the means to avoiding defective perceptions.<sup>523</sup>

All these elements are conflated to construct the identity of the anonymous woman represented in *The Letter* (c.1772, Private Collection). Her fancy dress and plumed hat, the masque and musical instruments and the golden coins held by the elderly woman observing her suggest the ways in which she is commodified within the fields of vision and representation (fig. 23). Paret's images of women immersed in processes of exchange and consumption, as shown in *The letter* and in *The trinket shop*, can be associated with Hogarth's exploration of the commodification of woman in the *Harlot's Progress*. As in Hogarth's prints, in Paret's painting a female

<sup>520</sup> . Schulz, A. 'The Expressive Body in Goya's *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent*', in *Art Bulletin*, vol. 80, n° 4, 1998, pp. 666-686.

<sup>521</sup> . Lajer-Burcharth, E. 'Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation', in *Representations*, n° 73, 2001, p. 56.

<sup>522</sup> . Bottineau, op. cit., 1986, p. 88.

<sup>523</sup> . Piquer, op. cit., 1771, p. 119.



figure is chosen as the embodiment of what Paulson calls 'the connection between emulation and consumption' that summarizes the anxieties raised by the social upheavals associated with a commercial society.<sup>524</sup>

Why did Paret choose Hogarth's works as a model? One reason can be found in Gilpin's mention of Hogarth in his *Observations* as an example of how to represent crowds.<sup>525</sup> Paret had already followed this model in his *Parejas Reales* (1770, Madrid Museo del Prado), painted for his main patron, the *infante* Don Luis (fig. 71).<sup>526</sup> This image of a popular entertainment attended by the king, the nobility and the people, who only four years earlier had defied royal authority, was articulated by means of careful spatial arrangements. 'The people' were brought to the foreground, so that *majas* and water-sellers became protagonists. Paret's combined crowded areas with vast empty intermediate spaces, thus deploying a subtle mechanism of separation that contributed to neutralize conflict. The success of his depiction of a public spectacle where people and rulers harmoniously shared the same urban space resulted in commissions to paint copies of the same image for other members of the Court.

Gilpin attributed the appeal of Hogarth's images of the people to his conciliation of the general effect of the crowd with the preservation of the individuality of the characters. The balance between the general and the particular was thus achieved. A similar conciliation between self-interest and common good allowed Hogarth's people to appear as representative of the freedom and commercial

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<sup>524</sup> . Paulson, R. 'Emulative consumption and literacy. The Harlot, Moll Flanders, and Mrs. Slipslop', in Bermingham and Brewer, op. cit., p. 384.

<sup>525</sup> . Gilpin, W. *Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, &c. relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty...* London, 1782, pp. 77-78.

prosperity of their country. His *Beer Street* provided a model for representing street life as ‘an urban pastoral where industry has allowed “the lower class of the People” prosperity’ (fig. 46).<sup>527</sup> Hogarth’s images could be perceived as an example of the general well-being and freedom that commerce spread to every class within society. They could be regarded as representative of the British response to the same negative views on consumption and luxury that Spanish moralists were uttering in the 1780s.

The template for the representation of the people imposed from above and summarised in Floridablanca’s census is, however, blended with residual systems of belief shaping representation from below. Considered separately, the figures in Paret’s paintings are not unlike the drawings of ‘picturesque types’ with which he contributed to Juan de la Cruz’s series of prints. This ‘picturesque’ imagery was regarded as a merely commercial venture, as evidenced in 1777 in Manuel Monfort’s criticism of Cruz producing ‘costume prints’, instead of ‘prints useful to the Academy, to His Majesty and to public authorities’.<sup>528</sup> Monfort disapproved of the market for which Cruz’s prints catered. It was the demand for these images and the financial insecurity of official patronage that led the printmaker to specialize in ‘popular types’. Their ‘realism’ was, however, seen as a form of self-assertion (or of self-glorification) aimed at pleasing and flattering, but not at instructing, their heterogeneous audience.

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<sup>526</sup> . Delgado, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>527</sup> . Bindman, op. cit., 1997, p. 141.

<sup>528</sup> . ‘Lo usual de Juan de la Cruz es hacer estampas de trajes, en vez de realizar grabados útiles a la Academia, a Su Majestad, a los poderes públicos, en suma, que le abonan seis mil reales al año, y esas láminas son ya corrientes en el comercio de estampas de la época’ (cited in Bozal, op. cit., 1982, p. 5).

## Chapter 4. Technologies of vision

### 1. The technology: optical instruments

#### *The scientific painter and the change of paradigm in optics*

During the eighteenth century there was a shift from the 'physical' notion of optics as the means of representing distance and perspective to its more psychological or perceptual aspects.<sup>529</sup> Artists' increasing interest in the mechanisms of human perception was explained within the context of the knowledge of the human mind and its functions demanded by theorists. But it also responded to the problems of spectatorship created by the development of new techniques to reproduce and transfer images among different media.

Eighteenth-century academies and their public exhibitions, like those organised by the Academy of San Fernando since 1793, determined new practices of seeing characterised by the plurality of perceptual experiences. Since 1737, the Paris Salon had provided a space for painters to display their works and for visitors to display themselves, as a 'public' in the making.<sup>530</sup> Nothing comparable existed in Spain until the end of the century. Solkin has noticed the change that makes

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<sup>529</sup> . Cantor, G.N. *Optics after Newton. Theories of Light in Britain and Ireland, 1704-1840*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983, p. 20.

‘spectatorship less an experience controlled entirely from without than a mental process orchestrated at least partially from within’.<sup>531</sup> The diversification of the audience led painters to inquire into the specific circumstances in which their works were perceived. The result was an increased awareness of their dependence on the judgements effected within a discursive space –the market- where perception was conditioned by unstable patterns of fashion and taste.

In the absence of a space like the French salon or like the Royal Academy exhibitions, how did Spanish painters position themselves with respect to a ‘public’ in the making? In this chapter, Goya’s designs for the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Bárbara will be considered in terms of the painter’s attempts at broadening and diversifying his original court audience. The creation of his tapestry series highlights the physicality of a process of representation which does not end in the painter’s studio. The tapestry designs must be seen within a tradition where the relation between intellectual and manual work and the primacy of the former with respect to the latter were still the subject of theoretical writings and academic speeches.

The hierarchic distribution of labour formulated in the academic discourse did not agree with the actual practice of the painter’s studio.<sup>532</sup> It complied neither with the utilitarian criteria of the pragmatic Bourbon administration, which Schulz finds exemplified in Floridablanca’s promotion of links between the arts and

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<sup>530</sup> . For the distinction between ‘audience’ and ‘public’, see Crow, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>531</sup> . Solkin, D. *Art on the Line. The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001, p. 3.

<sup>532</sup> . It was not until 1787 that Goya and his brother-in-law Ramón Bayeu received the assistance of a colour-grinder paid by the king to cope with an increasing amount of work for the tapestry factory (Letter to Zapater, 12 May 1787, in Symmons, op. cit., 2004, doc. 161, p. 188).

industry.<sup>533</sup> Technical competence, rather than artistic merit, determined the outcome of the dispute between the Spanish weavers and the family Vandergoten at the royal tapestry factory in 1786. Painters like Francisco Bayeu and Mariano Salvador Maella had already noticed that without quality materials (dyestuffs and silk) and mastery of new techniques and machinery, faithfulness to their original designs could not be achieved. The report by the court painter Maella focused on the need of an accurate reproduction of colours:

Paintings are seldom copied with accuracy; the weavers hardly ever use exactly the same colours of the original design... It would be necessary to find out whether the late Director trained any Spaniard in all the stages of production that precede weaving, such as the preparation of the wool, as well as of fine, durable, beautiful dyestuffs... because if there is no one who can do all this... all our diligence to reach perfection will be in vain.<sup>534</sup>

The emphasis was on colour and on its gradations, which created the effects of chiaroscuro and of aerial perspective. These qualities were presented as dependent on the processes to obtain and to elaborate the right materials. The reports documenting the conflict reveal opposed views on what the priorities of the factory ought to be. The confrontation between the Spanish craftsmen and the Flemish directors adopted the form of a debate on the relevance of drawing and pictorial composition favoured by the former, against the knowledge of dyestuffs and dyeing processes privileged by the latter. Livinio Stuyck y Vandergoten, who was ultimately

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<sup>533</sup> . Schulz, op. cit., 2005, p. 83.

<sup>534</sup> . 'Rara vez se copian los quadros con toda exactitud; casi nunca se emplean los colores identicos a los del original... seria conveniente tomar seguros informes sobre si el difunto Director havia enseñado a algunos Españoles todas las maniobras que preceden al tegido, como son la preparacion de las lanas, las tinturas finas hermosas; durables... Porque si no hai quien sepa todo eso... en vano seran nuestras diligencias en procurar la perfeccion' ('Informe que presenta a D. Pedro de Lerena el Pintor de Cámara Mariano Salvador Maella, sobre la introducción de nuevas normas encaminadas al perfeccionamiento artístico de la Real Fábrica de Tapices', 21/04/1786, in Sambricio, op. cit., doc. 88, p. lxiii).

appointed director, asserted that ‘the appropriate dyeing and colouring of stamens and silks, as well as the existence of skilled practitioners of this sort, is the main branch of knowledge upon which the subsistence and improvement of the factory depends’.<sup>535</sup>

In the *Encyclopédie*, the manufacture of luxury textiles was explained as dependent on the combined operations of body and mind. The skilled craftsman was expected to have some knowledge of drawing that would enable him to deal with the problems of pictorial composition.<sup>536</sup> But he also ought to have his senses trained to know and distinguish his materials. This interaction determines not only how images are produced, but also how they are seen or how they are consumed. Minor elements, such as the weight of the spinners, could ‘render the fabric thicker, thus increasing the imperfection caused by the shade of the transversal threads falling on the colours’.<sup>537</sup> The intended spectators were thus exposed to the products and techniques that appealed to their sense of touch, often interfering with the functioning of the scientific disembodied gaze.

According to the dominant theories in late eighteenth-century Spanish optics, vision depended on the combined operation of the physical mechanism of the eye and the nervous system. The complexity of their interaction conferred a new protagonism to the shortcomings of vision and to problems such as binocularity or accidental colours. The physician Piquer posed the problem in general terms when

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<sup>535</sup> . ‘El Principal Ramo para la Subsistencia y fomento de esta Fabrica, consiste en la buena Tintura, Coloridos de Estambres y Sedas’ (‘Memorial de D. Livinio Stuyck y Vandergoten’ dated 27/03/1786, in Sambricio, op. cit., doc. 79, p. lii).

<sup>536</sup> . Herrero, C. *Tapices y Cartones de Goya*. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1996, p. 35.

<sup>537</sup> . ‘Se valen [Spanish weavers] de lanzaderas pesadas, que aunque dan mas cuerpo á las ropas, les aumentan las imperfecciones con las sombras que ocasionan los colorines por las listas atravesadas’

recommending ‘the simultaneous use of many senses’ in order ‘to reach certainty’, while also taking into account that the correct or incorrect functioning of their organs can alter perception.<sup>538</sup> In this chapter, I examine the interplay of these elements in Goya’s early works as suggesting a re-embodiment of vision that undermines the dominant Cartesian paradigm.<sup>539</sup> The relocation of perception in the interface of body and mind offers the possibility of a scopic regime other than that associated with the disembodied eye and the camera obscura. Moreover, this chapter considers how the notion of perception operating in Spanish painting in this period is based on Locke’s definition of the process as ‘self-reflective’.<sup>540</sup> His assertion that it is ‘impossible for anyone to perceive, without perceiving, that he does perceive’ becomes invested with a scientific content when painters endeavour to ‘represent’ perception.

In 1786, Diego Rejón de Silva published his poem entitled *On Painting*, in which he defined painting as a product of ‘human understanding’, which ought to combine ‘the scientific, the beautiful and the elegant’.<sup>541</sup> What was the meaning of these adjectives in late eighteenth-century Spain? The ‘beautiful’ and the ‘elegant’ had long been an object of interest for Spanish theoreticians. But the notion of ‘scientific painting’ was relatively new. In 1724, in his *Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica*, Antonio Palomino had endeavoured to assert the liberal status of Painting by equating it with other sciences’ shared concern with optics and geometry:

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(Adame, N. J. ‘Nuevo Reglamento para el adelantamiento de las Fabricas, tanto de Seda como de Lana’, 1759, reprinted in *Semanario Erudito*, vol. 11, Madrid, 1788, p. 94).

<sup>538</sup> . Piquer, op. cit., 1771, p. 119.

<sup>539</sup> . Jay in Foster, op. cit., pp. 3-13.

[Optics] belong to the mathematical sciences, which deal with the profusion and projection of visual rays... this faculty is undoubtedly the theoretical basis of Painting; and all its principles and foundations are necessarily based upon demonstration, as it happens in all mathematical sciences. This means that Painting would qualify not only as a liberal art, but also as a discipline based on demonstration, which is the sublime part of science.<sup>542</sup>

Earlier in the century, Palomino's references to 'optics' would have been interpreted as concerning mainly the rules of perspective. In 1795, a second edition of his work was published by Gabriel de Sancha, who also commissioned book illustrations from Paret. Between the first and the second edition, a shift of paradigm from geometrical to physiological optics changed the meaning that the study of this science had for painters.<sup>543</sup> The change can be perceived in the mathematical treatises compiled by Benito Bails for the Royal Academy of San Fernando between 1759 and 1805. Although most of his works are demonstrations of algebra and arithmetic, Bails adds a short discussion of the Newtonian theory of colours to his 1757 French translation of Brook Taylor's treatise on perspective.<sup>544</sup> Rejón's reference to 'Benito Bails's principles of optics' in 1786 suggests his knowledge of earlier works on vision by the same author.<sup>545</sup>

<sup>540</sup> . Porter, R. *Flesh in the Age of Reason*. London: Allen Lane, 2003, p. 74. For Locke in Spain, see Schulz, A. 'Satirizing the senses: the representation of perception in Goya', in *Art History*, vol. 23, n° 2, 2000, p. 177).

<sup>541</sup> . Rejón, op. cit., canto 1, p. 4.

<sup>542</sup> . Palomino, A. *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica*. Madrid: Imprenta de Sancha, 1795. pp. v-vi.

<sup>543</sup> . Crary, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>544</sup> . Bails's French translation was published in Amsterdam as *Nouveaux principes de la perspective lineaire. Traduction de deux ouvrages, l'un Anglois, du Docteur Brook Taylor. L'autre Latin, de M. Patrice Murdoch, avec un essai sur la mélange de couleurs par Newton*. Amsterdam: Chez Westheim, 1757 (Henares Cuéllar, I. *La teoría de las artes plásticas en España en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1977, pp. 240-41).

<sup>545</sup> . Rejón, op. cit., pp. 126-127.



The third volume of Bails's *Principles of Mathematics* (Madrid, 1789-1805) contains sections on applied mathematics including optics.<sup>546</sup> Bails describes the physiology and mechanisms of the human eye, with references to the perception of distance and colour, to defective perceptual conditions and to distinct and indistinct vision, which are derived from Joseph Priestley and William Porterfield. He probably knew their works: Porterfield's treatise appears among the books purchased in London for the College of Surgeons of Madrid, whose library was open to the public since 1787.<sup>547</sup> Priestley's writings on electricity were available in the same institution and his reputation among Spanish professional and amateur scientists was well established: a visit to his country house near Birmingham was included in the itinerary of the Marquis of Ureña during his travels to Britain in 1787.<sup>548</sup>

Porterfield and Priestley are quoted in George Adams's *Essay on Vision*. From his premises in Fleet Street, this instrument maker supplied the Spanish court with optical and mathematical devices.<sup>549</sup> Adams also produced and exported books on optics like the *Essay on the Microscope*, reviewed in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in November 1788.<sup>550</sup> The review, translated from the *Monthly Magazine*, devoted a few lines to Priestley's *History of Vision*. Although published more than ten years before, Priestley's 'treatise on vision, light and colours' was praised by the reviewer as the most up-to-date work on optics. Following its vulgarising aims, the

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<sup>546</sup> . Bails, op. cit., 1805.

<sup>547</sup> . Burke, op. cit.,

<sup>548</sup> . Pemán, op. cit., 1992, p. 389.

<sup>549</sup> . Millburn, J. R. *Adams of Fleet Street. Instrument Makers to King George III*. London: Ashgate, 2000, p. 189.

<sup>550</sup> . 'Essays on the microscope &c. Ensayo sobre el microscopio con una descripción práctica de los mejores microscopios, una historia general de los insectos... &c., por Jorge Adams, constructor de instrumentos de matemática de su Magestad. En 4º con láminas en folio...', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, nº 154, 10/11/1788, p. 25.

*Espíritu* provided Spanish readers with a summary of Adams's and Priestley's explanations of the mechanism of vision.

Adams's *Micrographia Illustrata* (London, 1771) appears in the inventory of Bails's library.<sup>551</sup> In his own treatise, Bails included a list of optical instruments, such as the solar microscope and the camera obscura, used by the painter to enhance or to correct vision, to reproduce images and to study the mechanism of the eye. In 1796, the English translator of Leonardo's *Treatise on Painting* wondered at the effect that the advancement of optical knowledge might have on the works of contemporary painters:

If [Leonardo] could turn the *old* philosophy of his age to so good an account of painting, what might not be expected from the system of nature, as it stands under its present improvements by the moderns? We see what laudable uses he makes, even of a defective doctrine of light. To what pitch would he have carried his art, had he been acquainted with the new, the noble, the *Newtonian* theory of light and colours. What improvements would he not have made, had the discoveries of a *Bacon*, of a *Boyle*, been known to his days?<sup>552</sup>

Like a new Leonardo working in the Newtonian era, Reynolds's name appears among the subscribers to scientific treatises such as Priestley's *History of Vision*.<sup>553</sup> Reynolds's advice to 'every man whose business is description' to be acquainted 'with that part of philosophy which gives an insight into human nature' can be seen in this light.<sup>554</sup> More specifically, the scientific painter 'ought to know

<sup>551</sup> . Arias, op. cit., cat. no. 381.

<sup>552</sup> . 'Translator's preface' to *A Treatise on Painting by Leonardo da Vinci*. London, 1796, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>553</sup> . Priestley, J. *The history and present state of discoveries relating to vision, light and colours*. London, 1772, n. p.

<sup>554</sup> . Reynolds, J. *Discourses on Art*, transl. Robert R. Wark. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, Discourse VII, 1776, pp. 117-118.

*something* concerning the mind, as well as a great deal concerning the body of man'. Reynolds might be trying to provide the traditional study of the passions with an empirical base on anatomy and general physiology. But he could be also referring to the painter's knowledge of the mechanisms by which mental images or 'ideas' are formed in the interface of body and mind.

The study of the psychological aspect of perception allowed the scientific painter to know how external data are transmitted from the senses to the brain. Andrew Schulz has studied how this concern was evidenced in academic discourses in the 1780s and 1790s, not only in Madrid, but also in provincial academies.<sup>555</sup> The process of self-analysis was recommended by Piquer, who denied that any intellectual activity could be undertaken independently of the influence of the body:

Those who attribute to the soul intellectual operations totally independent of the body lack a correct understanding of the structure of man. Thought, reason and judgement cannot possibly be effected without the images produced in the fantasy, which regards them as the immediate object of its conceptions. Therefore fantasy must always operate depending on the body whose senses must concur to the production of such representations.<sup>556</sup>

The knowledge of philosophy as an investigation into the human mind mentioned by Reynolds was identified by Jovellanos as characteristic of the British School. In his discussion of the 'picturesque', the latter considers that the study of the 'relationships between nature, art and 'the sentimental faculty of our soul' has contributed decisively to the advancement of British art.<sup>557</sup> The picturesque exemplifies this trend because of the connection it establishes between 'pleasing the

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<sup>555</sup> . Schulz, op. cit., 2005, p. 125.

<sup>556</sup> . Piquer, op. cit., 1771, p. 19 (appendix 3d).

eye' and 'affecting the passions'. How was the connection between the effect of the object on the eye and the 'passions' established? According to Jovellanos's writings in 1789, one of Velázquez's main achievements was his understanding of the study of the 'affections and emotions of the soul' as pertaining to Nature.<sup>558</sup> Another characteristic of his works was his 'wise application of optical principles' in order to 'paint even what cannot be seen, that is, what can be seen with the spirit, more than with the eyes'.<sup>559</sup> Writing in that same year, Adams attributes to the enhanced sight that goes beyond surfaces and appearances the ability to communicate the painter's own passions to the spectator:

Would it not appear still more astonishing [that]... by means of this organ [eye] we can perceive the tempers and dispositions, the affections and passions, of our fellow-creatures, even when they want most to conceal them? That by this organ we can often perceive what is strait and crooked, in the mind as well as in the body: that it participates of every mental emotion...: that it exhibits these emotions with force, and infuses into the soul of the spectator the fire and the agitation of that mind in which they originate?<sup>560</sup>

In this paragraph, Adams suggests a neat scheme for the circulation of external impressions. The fact that the eye goes beyond external appearances suggests its close connection with the mind. Adams refers specifically to a 'spectator' whose mind mirrors the impression previously produced within the painter's mind. The same combination of knowledge of optical principles and study of the passions, which Jovellanos considered characteristic of the Spanish 'naturalist'

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<sup>557</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1804, p. 379.

<sup>558</sup> . 'Tampoco ignoró [Velázquez] que las afecciones y sentimientos del alma pertenecen a la naturaleza' (Jovellanos, op. cit., 1789, p. 154).

<sup>559</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1789, p. 155. For an analysis of Velázquez's 'concern with the nature of illusion in relation to the process of sight', see Kemp, M. *The Science of Art. Optical themes in Western art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990, pp. 104-108.

<sup>560</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1789, p. 33.

school, was explored by Goya while working on his second series of tapestry designs for the palace of El Pardo. He etched the *Blind Guitarist* after one of his own tapestry cartoons in the same year in which he published his series of prints after Velázquez (fig.5).<sup>561</sup>

These were also times of reform at the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Barbara, then under the supervision of Mengs. The tapestries produced at the royal manufactory were judged as inferior to those of its French model, the Gobelins, due to the lack of drawing skills of the weavers, who failed to transfer the original designs accurately. Mengs also reckoned the necessity of making both painters and weavers aware of how their work would be perceived, as stated in a letter to the director of the Academy of San Fernando, Antonio Ponz:

The painter's invention combined with the drawing skills of the weavers ought to be founded in the beauty of their colours, in the fair imitation of local colours or of the hues of each represented object... each colour must be graded according to the change of light or to the interposition of air between the object and our sight, with all the accidents observed in nature.<sup>562</sup>

The empirical knowledge of optics expected from the craftsmen working at the tapestry factory should result in 'the natural adjustment of uniform hues, without causing violence of discomfort to the [spectator's] sight'.<sup>563</sup> This was the effect achieved by those 'foreign manufacturers' whose productions were preferred by

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<sup>561</sup> . Vega, op. cit., 1995, pp. 148-163.

<sup>562</sup> . 'La invención de los pintores combinada con la habilidad en el dibujo de los oficiales tapiceros debía apoyarse en la belleza del colorido, en la justa imitación de los colores locales o tonos de cada cuerpo;... que cada color o tinta vaya degradando, según la falta de luz o interposición del aire entre los objetos y nuestra vista, y reciba todos los accidentes que se ven en la naturaleza' (cited in Herrero, op. cit., 1996, p. 35).

<sup>563</sup> . 'Acomodar con naturalidad los matices más uniformes, sin violencia ni desagrado á la vista' (ibid., p. 35).

Spanish consumers, according to an article on the 'advancement of manufactories of silk and wool' published in 1788 in the *Semanario Erudito*.<sup>564</sup> But even if professional painters were employed in the manufactures, their influence would be ineffectual unless the exact transferral of their invention to the final product could be guaranteed.

The technique of the *haute-lisse* allowed a higher degree of accuracy in the reproduction of the cartoon, since the weaver could walk round the loom to check the progress of his work and its faithfulness to the outlined original design. The technique of the *basse-lisse*, on the other hand, involved the use of a mirror placed between the threads and the cartoon and its results were usually less accurate and reversed with respect to the original. Both techniques were used in the production of tapestries after Goya's cartoons.<sup>565</sup> They were explained and illustrated in the *Dictionnaire Portatif des arts et métiers* (Paris, 1766) by the chemist employed in the Gobelins Pierre Macquer. Macquer referred to recent improvements to the *basse-lisse* by means of the use of 'transparent sheets of paper' to reproduce the original design transferred from them to the threads.<sup>566</sup> This procedure enabled exact copies of the original composition. The real problem was, however, for the weaver 'to create the same illusion [than the painter] in the soul of the spectator'.<sup>567</sup>

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<sup>564</sup> . Adame, N. J. 'Nuevo Reglamento para el adelantamiento de las Fabricas, tanto de Seda como de Lana', in *Semanario Erudito*, vol. 11, Madrid, 1788, p. 94.

<sup>565</sup> . Herrero, op. cit., 1996, p. 26.

<sup>566</sup> . 'Il substitue sous la chaîne un trait des objets sur des papiers transparens; de sorte que ces papiers étant retournés, ces objets viennent sur la tapisserie du même sens que sur le tableau' [He placed under the chain the objects outlined over the transparent sheets of paper; so that when these sheets were turned, the objects were represented on the tapestry in the same direction as the painting'] (Macquer, P. *Dictionnaire Portatif des Arts et Métiers*. Paris : Lacombe, 1766, vol. 1, p. 119).

*The optical machine and its images*

What kind of images appear to be associated with optical instruments? An analysis of advertisements published in eighteenth-century Madrid periodicals shows that there was a close link between the sale of optical machines and the sale of prints.<sup>568</sup> Customs records and regulations confirm their 'commercial' connection. In these lists of imports and exports, lenses, optical machines, microscopes, telescopes, mirrors, prints on paper and images painted on glass share their status as manufactured goods and as the product of trade.<sup>569</sup>

The pragmatism of Bourbon artistic policy fostered a commercial use of images that had an effect on the works produced by painters connected with the Court. At least one of Paret's paintings was reproduced as decorative furniture in the Royal Stonework Laboratory. In 1784, Eugenio Llaguno wrote to the Spanish envoy in London, Bernardo del Campo, that 'in the ... factory in El Retiro, tables and other pieces of different sizes are made of beautiful mosaic, with taste and imitating any given painting'.<sup>570</sup> The employment of professional painters like Goya as designers for the Royal Tapestry Factory fell within the same policy aimed at broadening the artistic influence of the Court. Campomanes encouraged the connection between the Academy of Fine Arts and what he termed 'popular industry' as the only means of

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<sup>567</sup> . 'Les demi-teintes y sont observées comme dans les tableaux mêmes, & font naître la même illusion dans l'âme du spectateur' (Macquer, op. cit., 1766, vol. 2, p. 2).

<sup>568</sup> . Portús and Vega, op. cit., 1998, p. 82.

<sup>569</sup> . 'Arancel general de Aduanas... en el año de [17]82, in *Almanack mercantil o guía de comerciantes para el año de 1795*. By D.D.M.G. Madrid, [1795].

<sup>570</sup> . 'He oído que en la misma fábrica [Real Fábrica de Porcelanas del Buen Retiro] del Retiro se trabajan unas mesas y otras piezas de diversos tamaños, de hermosísimo Mosaico con mucho gusto y imitando qualquier cuadro que se quiera dar' (letter from Campo to Llaguno, 31/3/1787, AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8157).

producing goods that could compete in an international market.<sup>571</sup> With the same purpose, he encouraged research into the techniques and applied sciences that contributed to the 'craftsmanship of painting'. Campomanes's own influence on the Academy of San Fernando, which he called his 'favourite establishment' in Madrid, as well as on those artists taking part in his *tertulias*, cannot be overrated.<sup>572</sup>

Their involvement in this form of industrial production, however undeveloped and hesitant, posed additional problems for painters who, like Paret and Goya, no longer relied on the stable patronage of the court. Their designs are intended for objects in whose actual production the painter does not take part. At the same time, supplying images for the royal manufactures implies adapting their productions to the taste, but also to the demands, of a broader, more heterogeneous, audience, to the point that 'spectator' and 'consumer' become synonymous.

The combined use of prints or paintings and optical devices poses the problem of the producer's control over the conditions in which his or her work is perceived. As in the process of printmaking, the transferral of an image from one medium to another allows 'a plurality of copies and the recasting of the object into situations and contexts beyond the reach of the original'.<sup>573</sup> A similar ambiguity results from their spectacular projection in 'optical shows'. John Varey's study of advertisements for popular spectacles in Spanish eighteenth-century periodicals reveals how frequent the combination of an 'optical machine (*máquina óptica*)' and

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<sup>571</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1774, p. cv (appendix 4b).

<sup>572</sup> . Townsend, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 284.

<sup>573</sup> . Evans, J., ed. *Visual Culture: The Reader*. London: Sage and Open University, 1999, pp. 17-18.



'prints' ('láminas or estampas') was.<sup>574</sup> Goya's *Blind Guitarist* could be intended to be projected in front of a paying audience or offered for sale as a part of a printed series. The image was thus removed from the sequestered space of the royal antechamber where the tapestry was displayed to inhabit the physical and discursive space of the marketplace. This was not a novelty in itself, as Goya's own etchings after Velázquez and contemporary series of reproductive prints, like that promoted by the newly created 'company for the reproduction of paintings in the Spanish royal collection' show.<sup>575</sup>

*The Blind Guitarist* was the only print that Goya etched after his cartoons, nor was any other cartoon for the royal tapestry factory reproduced as a print at the time (fig. 5). Some smaller sketches in oil depicting the same scenes as the cartoons have been identified as copies that Goya himself painted after his original designs to sell to other noble patrons, like the Duchess of Osuna. Why was Goya's commercial 'experiment' limited to *The Blind Guitarist*? The subjects chosen by the king for his tapestries and represented by Goya were not nymphs, classical gods, kings and queens or Flemish peasants and hunters.<sup>576</sup> His 'realistic' representations of contemporary Spanish people could not be seen in the same way by Charles III and his court in the royal palace and by those same Spanish people supposedly represented in them. When exposed to the judgement of the marketplace, their 'realism' would be called into question, if not denied, by the impossibility of a 'mirroring effect' implicit in the image of an audience failing to recognize itself.

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<sup>574</sup> . Varey, J. E. *Cartelera de los Títeres y Otras Diversiones Populares de Madrid: 1758-1840*. Madrid and Woodbridge: Támesis, 1995.

<sup>575</sup> . Vega, op. cit., 1995, p. 163.

<sup>576</sup> . Bozal, op. cit., 1982, p. 1.

Prints are multiple images, whose technical reproducibility and increasing availability anticipate Benjamin's 'age of mechanical reproduction'.<sup>577</sup> Not all the advertisements studied by Varey provide a description of the subjects of the images transformed –magnified, animated or lighted- by means of 'optical machines'. Views and specific historical events, such as battles, coronations or royal visits, are mentioned among more frequent references to witches, monsters and devils.<sup>578</sup> However, simple optical instruments did not require prints specifically produced for them. Standard 'picturesque' representations of popular types and scenes could also be regarded as suitable to be placed under the lens or to be projected and watched by a relatively heterogeneous audience.<sup>579</sup>

In optical shows the multiplicity of the image was rendered especially problematic by the diversity of spectators. Moreover, Varey's survey of optical shows suggests a broader choice of subjects for these projections, which were not restricted to the enlargement of microscopic organisms. The place of the scientific drawing on the screen could thus be taken by images of 'gardens with fountains, *madamas* and kiosks' or 'Spanish scenes'.<sup>580</sup>

The subjects of Goya's cartoons for the Royal Tapestry Factory have been studied by Edith Helman in relation to the satire *Optics of Courtship* [*Óptica del Cortejo*] (1774), attributed to Ramírez y Góngora.<sup>581</sup> The setting for Goya's tapestries in the royal palace of El Pardo recalls the 'palace of Understanding'

<sup>577</sup> . Benjamin, W. 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction', in *Illuminations*. London: Pimlico, 1999.

<sup>578</sup> . Varey, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>579</sup> . Clayton, T. *The print in England, 1688-1802*. London: Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 140-41.

<sup>580</sup> . Varey, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

<sup>581</sup> . Helman, E. *Trasmundo de Goya*. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1963, p. 86.

described in Ramírez's *Optics*.<sup>582</sup> The author is summoned into the 'Hall of Optics' [*Salón de la Óptica*], where a microscope surrounded by mirrors is operated by the personification of Understanding, whom the author calls 'my agent companion'.<sup>583</sup> The observer adopts a passive role seated in front of the microscope, while the Understanding places before his eyes a series of 'stretchers' [*bastidores*] or large framed slides representing contemporary scenes and types in different urban and landscape settings.<sup>584</sup> According to Ramírez y Góngora, images are painted on large surfaces, reflected and projected by mirrors and lenses before reaching the spectator's eye:

The main wall was covered by a beautiful mirror, in front of which a beautiful microscope was placed on a pedestal. Its intermediate space was occupied with a number of stretchers, whose figures were represented directly onto the mirror; the mirror then reflected these figures on the bright lens placed in front of it, thus offering to the sight the inner depths of its hieroglyphic paintings.<sup>585</sup>

Although the way to operate this device recalls contemporary descriptions of the solar microscope, the dimensions of the mirror and the stretchers belong to a different kind of optical machine. Its problematic identification with any actual instrument of the period suggests the possibility of its use as a metaphor for the mechanism of mediated perception. The complete setting has been recently associated with the structure of the panopticon, since it presupposes a spectator

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<sup>582</sup> . Ramírez y Góngora, M. A. *Óptica del Cortejo*. Madrid: Hernández Pacheco, 1788. Ana Rueda refers to an earlier edition published in 1774 (Rueda, A. 'Óptica del Cortejo: panóptico para una comedia de bastidores', in *Dieciocho*, vol. 27, nº 2, 2004, pp. 255-72. I am grateful to Jesusa Vega for this reference).

<sup>583</sup> . Ramírez, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

<sup>584</sup> . Ibid., pp. 13-14.

<sup>585</sup> . Ibid., p. 14.

whose central location affords a commanding view of the surrounding images.<sup>586</sup> The viewer's dominant central role cannot be equated, however, to a system of surveillance.<sup>587</sup>

The key to interpret Ramírez's metaphorical staging of the scientific gaze can be found in the author's emphasis in the detachment provided by the mediation of the lens. He specifies that the main advantage of this device is that it allows 'seeing everything without any physical contact with the people'.<sup>588</sup> The optical instrument provides the position from which the body of the people, as well as the confusion and disorder of the street and the marketplace, can be framed, surveyed and turned into a harmless spectacle.<sup>589</sup>

Optical machines were not only scientific instruments, but also luxury commodities in demand among fashionable amateur scientists. One of them was the Spanish king Charles III. Both the king and his son owned solar microscopes and other optical devices described in their correspondence with the king's agent in London, the Portuguese scientist John Hyacinth Magellan.<sup>590</sup> The artefacts that he acquired in London were also occasionally sent to educational institutions created by Charles III.<sup>591</sup> Among other purchases, Magellan mentions an 'achromatic telescope' or *machine à diviser* and a 'solar opaque microscope'. Magellan sends instructions for the use of these devices and he describes more minutely 'the instrument for

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<sup>586</sup> . See Rueda, op. cit., pp. 258-59.

<sup>587</sup> . For the opposite thesis, see *ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>588</sup> Ramírez, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>589</sup> Stallybrass and White, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>590</sup> . For the correspondence between Joseph Banks and Magellan, see Dawson, W. R., ed. *The Banks Letters*. London: British Museum, 1958, p. 567.

<sup>591</sup> . Letters from Magellan to Floridablanca dated in 1786, AGS Sec. Estado, leg. 8164.

representing in *relievo* paintings & portraits'.<sup>592</sup> In March 1787, Magellan encloses a note from the mathematical instrument maker Adams in his correspondence about the king's latest acquisitions:

Large gappaned lantern [*sic*] ... for illuminating the pictures so as to make them appear in *Relievo* as well as to project the microscopic objects on the screen and to reduce pictures with large tubes, lenses apertures to a page.<sup>593</sup>

Magellan considered it necessary to supplement Adams's description with his own clarifications. His notes provide additional information on the structure and use of the 'solar microscope'. They reinforce its association not only with prints, as it was the case with most of optical machines, but also with paintings, and, more specifically, portraits:

After reading my scribbling on the microscope again, I find that there are three or four words missing to understand the place for the *painting, portrait* or object that is going to be examined or copied, by means of the large square box with two lamps.... When arranging this square box, both lighted lamps must be placed inside, one for each inner corner, on the front of the box, & turned so that the larger light falls upon the object or upon the painting that we want to examine. The latter must be reversed facing the inner side of the box and in front of the inner aperture ...<sup>594</sup>

When describing the objects that can be reproduced by means of his improved solar microscope, Adams mentioned specifically portraits, 'the human

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<sup>592</sup> . 'Mais il n'y avoir point l'appareil pour représenter en *relievo* les peintures & portraits' (letter from J. H. Magellan to Campo. AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8164, 21/2/1787).

<sup>593</sup> . AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8164.

<sup>594</sup> . 'En lisant de nouveau mon griffonage sur le microscope, je trouve qu'il y manquent 3 ou 4 mots poru bien comprendre l'endroit où doit être mise la *peinture, portrait* ou objet qu'on veut examiner ou copier, par le moient de la grande boete quarrée avec les deux lampes .... On arrange cette boete quarrée, mettant au dedans les deux lampes allumées, une à chacun des coins interieurs, sur le devant de la boete, & tournées en sorte que la plus grande lumière tombe sur l'objet ou sur la peinture qu'on veut examiner. Celle-ci doit être renversée contre le dos intérieur de la boete et vis-à-vis de l'ouverture interieur ...' (AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8164).

attitude in any position' and 'pieces of still life, such as flowers, fruits, dead game, &c.', as well as 'furniture, workmanship of every kind... or other images'.<sup>595</sup> A portrait of the director of the Royal Tapestry Factory Cornelius Vandergoten was painted by Goya in 1782 (Madrid, Prado) and subsequently woven as a tapestry. It exemplifies the increasing tendency in the royal factory to conceive their production as framed 'picture-tapestries' instead of hanging pieces of textile decoration.<sup>596</sup> Given the problems already mentioned to obtain accurate reproductions of the original tapestry designs, it is tempting to consider that optical instruments could be used not only to look at images, but also to transfer them among different media.

Adams's *Micrographia Illustrata* describes a combination of 'improved' solar microscope and camera obscura that allowed the draughtsman to work with artificial light (fig. 73). The 'trials' and 'experiments' conducive to the construction of this device had produced, as their unintended effects, two 'curious applications of the camera obscura'.<sup>597</sup> Adams apologized in advance for departing from the subject of the microscope and of scientific illustration, since both devices belonged more to the realm of interests of the painter. Thus, his 'pyradimical [*sic*] camera obscura' placed horizontally on a table proved useful to reproduce objects devoid of their reflection and to '[reduce] large drawings or paintings to a smaller size':

Set the original painting upon a chair against the wall, but topside turvy, and you will have a lively representation of it upon the grey glass [of the camera] in an erect position; and if the room be long enough, a whole length picture may be taken in, and the representation may be either larger or smaller, as you either remove the instrument, or picture, farther from or nearer to each other; the change of the lens will do the same thing.<sup>598</sup>

<sup>595</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1771, p. xviii.

<sup>596</sup> . Herrero, op. cit., 1996, p. 28.

<sup>597</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1771, p. xvi.

<sup>598</sup> . Ibid., p. xvii.

Magellan corresponded with scientists belonging to the Lunar Society of Birmingham, which favoured the application of scientific research to industry and manufacturing.<sup>599</sup> One of its most famous members, the scientist Joseph Priestley, mentioned in his autobiography his meeting with ‘the jesuit Magellan’ in the course of a trip to France in 1774 and he praised his knowledge of mechanics and science.<sup>600</sup> Magellan’s private papers also include bills from other London instrument makers, such as Benjamin Martin. Martin’s description of an ‘opaque solar microscope’ in 1771 refers to the use of optical instruments for copying images:

If the screen be placed at a proper Distance, and made steady, then the Image of any Object may be drawn upon it with the greatest Ease; and thus a great Number of Drawings may be made for Prints of all the curious subjects in the animal, vegetal, and mineral kingdoms.<sup>601</sup>

Scientific drawings could be thus reproduced accurately as prints. This process involved transferring the image under the lens to the screen, and then to the paper or to the copperplate. But the reverse process was also possible. In 1785, Adams mentions a Liverpool instrument maker’s ‘patent for taking impressions on glass from engraved copperplates’, which would allow enlarging images originally

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<sup>599</sup> . A paper by Day was published in the *Journal of the Royal Institution* concerning the use of a solar microscope for ‘copying paintings upon Glass, and making Profiles, by the agency of Light, upon Nitrate of Silver’. (Schofield, R. *The Lunar Society of Birmingham. A social history of provincial science and industry in eighteenth-century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 423).

<sup>600</sup> . Priestley, J. *Memoirs of Joseph Priestley, to the year 1795, written by himself*. London: J. Johnson, 1806, p. 73.

<sup>601</sup> . Martin, B. ‘Description and use of a graphic perspective and microscope, for drawing all kinds of objects in the perspective, and a just proportion of their parts, with readiness and ease’, in *The Description of a New Universal Microscope*...London, 1786, p. 12.

created as prints by means of their projection onto a screen. The announcement was made during one of the sessions of the 'Coffee House Philosophical Society', to which Magellan and Priestley belonged.<sup>602</sup> The presence of Josiah Wedgwood and James Watt among them suggests close links with the Lunar Society of Birmingham and with the leading manufactures of the period.

Adams's catalogue of mathematical instruments for 1789 was accompanied by a short *Essay on Vision*, which summarised current treatises on optics. In the first plate, Adams displays an assemblage of diagrammatic explanations of the mechanism of vision and optical devices (fig. 54). In this illustration, the eye is either completely disembodied or a part of the optical instrument. Crary identifies this disembodiment, also implicit in the description of the camera obscura, with the Cartesian paradigm of vision.<sup>603</sup> A similar image of the disembodied eye appears at the end of one of Goya's private letters to his friend Martín Zapater dated in the spring 1784.<sup>604</sup> In this drawing, an open eye is set in a circular object resembling a painter's palette or a bowl (fig. 72). It is surrounded by a number of objects such as a knife, a lamp, an arm or a hand, upon which the painter has represented smaller, re-embodied eyes.

Goya's scribbling could be part of a private joke. However, it can also be considered within the broader context of the painter's interest in optics and in

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<sup>602</sup> . Levere, T. H. and Turner, G. L'E., eds. *Discussing Chemistry and Steam. The minutes of a Coffee House Philosophical Society 1780-1787*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 144.

<sup>603</sup> . Crary, op. cit., 1992, pp. 47-48.

<sup>604</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 2004, p. 148, doc. 112.



perception.<sup>605</sup> The letter was written in the years when Goya was working for the royal tapestry factory of Santa Bárbara. His designs were therefore subject to the precise requirements of the dyers and weavers in charge of transferring them to a different medium. The dependence between the practice of the workshop and artistic theory had already been addressed by Matías Irala, who had recourse to the eye embedded in a hand as a symbol of ‘practical painting’ in an etching dated around 1739 (fig. 56). The re-embodied eye could therefore refer to the craftsmanship of painting, whose reliance on vision is thus balanced by the participation of other senses, like touch.

Goya’s use of the motif of the eye embedded within an apparently incoherent assemblage of objects recalls Hogarth’s remarks on vision in the *Analysis of Beauty*. Hogarth advises his reader ‘to assist his imagination as much as possible, in considering every object, as if his eye were placed within it’.<sup>606</sup> Goya’s re-embodiment of the eye appears as a humorous comment upon Hogarth’s instructions for readers to ‘see with [their] own eyes’ and to dispense with received authority.<sup>607</sup> These connotations would not have been missed by Goya’s correspondent, a self-made tradesman ennobled in 1789 who was also a patron of the School of Fine Arts of Zaragoza dependent on the local Economic Society.<sup>608</sup>

Goya’s exploration of problems of spectatorship determines not only the subjects of his works for the tapestry factory, but also their mode of representation. The accuracy required to preserve the painter’s invention when transferred to a

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<sup>605</sup> . Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>606</sup> . Hogarth, W. *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. R. Paulson. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997, p. 22.

<sup>607</sup> . Ibid., p. 18.

different medium was Francisco Bayeu's main concern in his report on the factory in 1786.<sup>609</sup> This process of translation from canvas to tapestry involved practical and technical problems that Goya had to take into account when working on his earliest series for the factory. Awareness of how the medium can alter the meaning of the image conditions his early cartoons, such as *The Blind Guitarist*, whose subject belongs to the tradition of images of the five senses.<sup>610</sup>

The dimensions of the etching after the cartoon (39.5 x 57 cm.) are unusually large with respect to other prints by Goya, but common in optical or perspectival views (fig. 5).<sup>611</sup> The rare impressions preserved and the fact that this is the only occasion in which Goya reproduces his own painting in a print suggest its experimental character. Tapestries produced in the royal factories were intended to be seen by a limited audience within very specific conditions. Their reproduction as prints would broaden their audience, but the painter did not retain any control over their reception. However, their association with an optical instrument provides the perceptual conditions required to preserve the carefully staged character of the series.

In 1778 Goya's cartoon for *The Blind Guitarist* was returned to the painter 'to correct in it and conclude what was indicated that made it impossible to copy in tapestry'.<sup>612</sup> According to some authors, the relocation of the tapestry and the subsequent change in dimensions determined the alterations in the original design.<sup>613</sup> However, Tomlinson notices that Goya also simplified the composition. In the final

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<sup>608</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 2004, p. 211.

<sup>609</sup> . Sambricio, op. cit., doc. 86, p. lxiii.

<sup>610</sup> . Held, op. cit., p. 52. Schulz also notices as unusual within the context of the tapestry cartoons this early depiction of the 'theme of blindness' (Schulz, op. cit., 2000, p. 153).

<sup>611</sup> . On optical views, see Stafford, B. M. and Terpak, F. *Devices of Wonder. From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2001, p. 344.

design, outlines appear marked in white, thus establishing a neat separation among areas of different colours, possibly as a response to the weavers' demands (fig. 4). The addition of white lines can be considered as an attempt at neutralising the effect of contrasted colours.

Experiments described in these years by Priestley or George Louis Le Clerc, count de Buffon, refer to possible distortions in the perception of adjacent colours. Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, of which Paret owned a copy, was translated to Spanish by José Clavijo y Fajardo in 1785, although the original work was known in Spain well before. Their conclusions could also apply to the weaving of threads of different colours or to any other use of dyed wool and silk. The practical problems derived from the combination of colours would be familiar to manufacturers like Goya's patron and friend Juan Martín de Goicoechea, who had studied 'the production and weaving of silk' in France.<sup>614</sup>

The use of colour in painting was considered in terms of its perception and of the accidents that could condition the beholder in a review of François Tronchin's 'Discourse on connoisseurship', published in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in 1788. Tronchin's essay had appeared in the *Journal Encyclopédique* in May 1787 and it was originally addressed to the 'public assembly of the society for the encouragement of the arts' established in Geneva.<sup>615</sup> Among the 'difficulties, so far insurmountable' encountered by the painter who tried to achieve 'a perfect imitation

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<sup>612</sup> . Tomlinson, op. cit., 1989, p. 71.

<sup>613</sup> . Herrero, op. cit., 1996, p. 30.

<sup>614</sup> . Gassier and Wilson, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>615</sup> . 'Extracto de un Discurso sobre el conocimiento de las pinturas pronunciado por Mr. Tronchin des Delices... inserto en el Diario Enciclopédico del Mes de Mayo', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 135, 30/06/1788, pp. 77 – 79.

of nature', Tronchin emphasised colour as a problem. The difference between the infinite gradation of colours in nature and the comparative poverty of those in the painter's palette could not be compensated:

The shades that unify colours in nature are countless, whereas the painter's choice is restricted to a few material colours that force him to blur transitions, whose merging is imperceptible in nature. Hence he cannot imitate nature without decompose or unsew her ... These are the reasons why the limited range of primitive colours among which the painter must find the endless variety that he requires, the arbitrary selection of the mixtures out of which they are produced and the variety of observers become simultaneously the obstacle and the solution to the problem [of how to distinguish one painter from another].<sup>616</sup>

A single cluster of red, yellow and blue usually appears conspicuous in the foreground of Goya's early cartoons. This combination corresponds to what contemporary works on chemistry defined as 'the primitive colours, or rather ... those which are so called by the Dyers'.<sup>617</sup> The taste for juxtapositions of primary colours in the tapestries produced in the Spanish royal factory increased during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>618</sup> In *The Blind Guitarist*, these colours can be seen in the couple on the right (fig. 4). Brown and black complete the number of the dyer's primary colours and these are used in the clothes of the crowd, the guitarist and the buildings in the background. The centrifugal effect of the composition is also

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<sup>616</sup> . 'La escala de los colores de la naturaleza es incomparable con la de los colores de la paleta del pintor, que es infinitamente mas escasa. Los matices que unen los colores de la naturaleza son innumerables, y los pocos facticios á que está reducido el pintor le obligan á confundir pasages [*sic*], cuya union es imperceptible en la naturaleza, de tal modo que no puede imitarla sin desunirla ó descoserla... Por estas razones el corto número de los colores primitivos en los que ha de hallar el pintor la variedad infinita de los colores que necesita, en la arbitraria eleccion de las mezclas que los componen, en la diversidad de los observadores, en todo este cúmulo de obstáculos se ha de buscar la solucion de este problema: ¿cómo sucede que el conocedor de pinturas llega á distinguir á unos pintores de otros?' (ibid., p. 79).

<sup>617</sup> . Macquer, P. *The art of dying wool, silk and cotton. Translated from the French of M. Hellot, M. Macquer, and M. Le Pileur d'Appligny*. London, 1789, p. 3.

achieved by means of the disposition of Goya's loose brushstrokes, which become even looser near the borders. This distribution reproduces the way in which the eye perceives, as described by Porterfield, whose work was quoted by Adams:<sup>619</sup>

Tho' it is certain ... that only a very small Part of any Object can be seen distinctly at a Time, namely that whose Image on the Retina is in the Axis of the Eye, and that other Parts of the Object, which have their images painted at some Distance from this same Axis, are but faintly and obscurely perceived; yet we are seldom sensible of this Defect; and, in viewing Bodies that are pretty large, we are apt to imagine, that we see at the same time all their Parts equally distinct and clear. ... for it is certain that the Idea of Objects which we receive by sight, do not presently perish, but are of a lasting Nature.<sup>620</sup>

Goya's subsequent works for the factory until 1792 show his awareness of the optical principles that can help adapt his design to varying perceptual conditions. In the cartoon for *The Meadow of San Isidro* (fig. 9), touches of red, blue and yellow have been spread along the foreground, whereas the lack of definition of the borders is still more marked. Instead of a centrifugal composition, the red and yellow dress of the water-seller on the right and the blue dress worn by the seated woman to the left scattered among large areas of brown, black and grey create the effect of dispersion characteristic of an extended view.

In his *Principles of Mathematics* compiled for the Royal Academy of San Fernando, Bails includes a paragraph on distinct and indistinct vision that is virtually

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<sup>618</sup> . See Herrero, op. cit., 1996, p. 37. The author emphasises the cost of the dyestuffs employed to obtain these three colours as a reason for the effect of 'luxury' perceived in those tapestries where they were used.

<sup>619</sup> . For a discussion of Porterfield's theories in connection with Gainsborough's painting, see Asfour, A. and Williamson, P. *Gainsborough's Vision*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999, pp. 118-121.

<sup>620</sup> . Porterfield, W. *A Treatise on the Eye, the Manner and Phaenomena of Vision*. Edinburgh, 1759, vol. 2, pp. 222-23.

a literal translation of Porterfield's work.<sup>621</sup> Bails, who was in charge of teaching perspective at the academy, also explains how objects are 'painted' by the rays of light on the bottom of the eye.<sup>622</sup> The retinal image is not uniform, since it is produced by a combination of coloured dots. The accuracy with which the dots are gathered and projected onto the retina determines the degree of distinctness of vision:

The image of the object is... formed by a number of different dots equivalent to those contained in the object represented; and this image will be perfect as long as these dots are not confused, but distinct and in the same arrangement as the dots forming the object itself. Therefore, when the ends of the batches of rays do not fall exactly on the bottom of the eye, and when they are intercepted before or after being reunited, so that they remain scattered in more or less extended circular areas, the image will appear indistinct, and so will vision. This would be inevitable if the eye did not adjust itself respectively to the different distances of the objects.<sup>623</sup>

Bails's practical approach to optics is also indebted to Brook Taylor's account of vision. The latter was intended 'to assist the Judgement and to direct the Hand' of painters like Gainsborough, Reynolds or Thomas and Paul Sandby, whose names appear in the list of subscribers to Joshua Kirby's 1755 edition.<sup>624</sup> Vision is described here as the emission or reflection of 'inconceivably small particles... from each point of [the] surface' of visible bodies that enter the eye and 'excite' the ideas of light and colour in the mind.<sup>625</sup> Taylor's *Method of Perspective* also includes the

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<sup>621</sup> . Bails, op. cit., 1793-1805, vol. 3, p. 255.

<sup>622</sup> . Bédat, C. *La Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (1744-1808)*. Madrid: FUE, 1989.

<sup>623</sup> . 'La imagen de un objeto se forma... de tantos puntos distintos, quantos hay en el objeto que representa; y esta imagen no es del todo perfecta, sino en quanto dichos puntos no se confunden, estan muy distintos, y guardan la misma colocacion respectiva que los puntos correspondientes del objeto. Luego quando los vértices de los manojos dán puntualmente en el fondo del ojo, y quando los rayos detenidos antes ó despues de su reunion, están esparcidos en espacios circulares mayores ó menores, la imagen queda confusa, y por consiguiente es tambien confusa la vision. Esto sucederia indefectiblemente, si el ojo no padeciese mudanzas respectivas á las diferentes distancias de los objetos' (Bails, op. cit., 1793-1805, vol. 3, p. 255).

<sup>624</sup> . Kirby, J. *Dr Brook Taylor's Method of Perspective Made Easy*. Ipswich, 1755, p. i, vii.

<sup>625</sup> . Ibid., p. 8.

usual comparison between the eye and an assemblage of lenses whose adjustment determines the degree of distinction of the 'picture' in the spectator's mind. Vision becomes a staged process of transferral of 'pictures' from the object to the eye and from the retina, through the nerves, to the brain.<sup>626</sup>

The adjustment of the lenses in the microscope reflects the adaptation of the eye to the conditions of the field of vision. Awareness of the adaptive capacity of the eye has also consequences in the field of representation. The illustrations to Adams's *Micrographia* depict instances of close-ups and real size views of natural objects juxtaposed in the same plate. In these etchings, the eye seems to zoom in and out of the bodies represented. Adams's descriptions of the images emphasize the porous and hence visually penetrable nature of the surfaces of vegetables, animals, flowers, fluids and what he terms 'artificial things' (fig. 75). Human skin and tree trunks provide him with examples of layered bodies decomposed and recomposed under the technologically enhanced gaze (fig. 74).<sup>627</sup>

In his treatise on skin diseases, the physician Daniel Turner compares the skin as seen through the lens of the microscope with 'the finest Sieve'.<sup>628</sup> Turner's work appears among the medical books acquired by the surgeon Antonio Gimbernat for the royal college of surgery through the ambassador Campo in 1787.<sup>629</sup> According to this author, the skin 'frames', 'shapes' and 'encloses' the human body, but is not an impenetrable solid border. When examined through the lens, the skin appears 'inconspicuously [perforated] all over, through its innumerable and (to the naked

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<sup>626</sup> . Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>627</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1771, pp. 34-35, 252-53.

<sup>628</sup> . Turner, op. cit., p. ii.

<sup>629</sup> . Riera, op.cit, 1976, p. 315.

Eye) almost imperceptible Passages, by Physicians called *Pores*'.<sup>630</sup> The discovery of a number of 'strata' or layers in what had been formerly perceived as a uniform, 'simple' or 'uncompounded' body leads Turner to call into question the existence of any natural object that cannot be similarly entered and decomposed into separate parts.<sup>631</sup>

Although Bails describes the structure of the camera obscura, in his *Principles* this device is not proposed as a model of human vision. His explanation is merely functional and focused in its usefulness 'either to obtain copies of painted images or to trace the perspective of solid bodies by means of their... outlines'.<sup>632</sup> How does the notion of vision underlying his text fit within the 'scopic regimes of modernity'?<sup>633</sup> Crary locates the crisis of monocular vision and of other Renaissance perceptual codes in the early nineteenth century.<sup>634</sup> He admits, however, the existence of earlier instances of deviance from that dominant paradigm. Bails's emphasis on the interdependence of body and mind in perception and Goya's apparent awareness of binocular vision and accidental colours appear as two related instances of the destabilization of Cartesian visuality.

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<sup>630</sup> . Turner, op. cit., p. ii.

<sup>631</sup> . 'The *Cuticula*, like the true Skin, is not uniform; in diverse Parts of it the Numbers of its Scales and their *Strata* exceed those of others... it appears... that the Skin can no more be esteemed a *similar* Part than any of those called *Dissimilar* or Compounded: Nor indeed is there any Part of the whole Animal... that can justly be esteemed simple or uncompounded' (ibid., p. v).

<sup>632</sup> . 'Para sacar copias de las imágenes pintadas, ó la perspectiva de los sólidos, trazando las líneas exteriores ó los contornos de sus imágenes formadas por la lente' (Bails, op. cit., 1805, vol. 3, p. 263).

<sup>633</sup> . Jay, op. cit., 1988, p. 5.

<sup>634</sup> . Crary, J. 'Modernizing vision', in Foster, op. cit., 1988, pp. 32-33.



## 2. Practical observers: the studio and the workshop

### *'Rational' artists and 'philosophical' dyers*

How does the empirical approach of the 'philosophical' dyer announce the 'collapse' of the model of vision represented by the camera obscura? The royal factories adopted during these years the role of 'laboratories' where new techniques and products were developed and tested. Compilations of the sort published by Adams or Martin accompanied optical instruments sent from London, such as the telescope listed among Goya's belongings.<sup>635</sup> Moreover, according to the engraver Pedro González de Sepúlveda, 'English books' were used by Paret to obtain information about the chemical composition of different pigments. Similar interests are revealed in Francisco Bayeu's report to the minister Miguel de Muquíz on the quality of the colours supplied by José Velilla, whose 'progress in the study of chemistry' is praised by the painter.<sup>636</sup>

What 'optical principles' were available for painters, dyers and weavers working in Spanish factories? Optical theories were somewhat implicit in manuals like *The Art of Dying Wool, Silk and Cotton*, which was originally published in Paris in 1763.<sup>637</sup> The 1789 English translation of this work was dedicated to the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, whose reports could be occasionally found in the

<sup>635</sup> . Sánchez Cantón, F. J. 'Cómo vivía Goya. El inventario de sus bienes', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 19, 1946, pp. 73-109.

<sup>636</sup> . Morales y Marín, J. *Los Bayeu*. Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros, 1979, pp. 19-22 and doc. 8, p. 189.

<sup>637</sup> . Macquer, op. cit., 1789.

catalogues of Spanish booksellers, as well as in private libraries, such as Bails's.<sup>638</sup>

In his preface, the translator emphasised the links between scientific discoveries and the improvement of manufactures. He noticed that in France, awareness of 'the importance of colours in their various manufactures' had led the government to employ some of their best chemists in experiments to improve 'the art of dying' fabrics. The English translator concluded that 'be the theories of these philosophical Dyers what they may, their experiments cannot fail to be useful to a rational artist'.<sup>639</sup>

Frequent references to the prestigious French royal tapestry factories might recommend this work to the attention of Spanish officers intent on making manufacturers more 'philosophical'.<sup>640</sup> The results of their efforts are difficult to assess. In 1788, in Madrid the dyer Luis Fernández published his *Tratado Instructivo y Práctico sobre el arte de la Tintura*. The work was addressed to an audience of skilled craftsmen and it was based on the author's practical experience (figs. 77, 78). He acknowledged the 'eloquence' and 'style' of foreign manuals on Physics and Chemistry, which he evidently had read. But Fernández defined himself proudly as an artisan, who could only be persuaded by means of practical experiments and not by what he called 'the metaphysics of pure speculation'.<sup>641</sup> The perfect master dyer ought to be endowed with good taste, skill, curiosity and honesty. If this model corresponded to that of the 'philosophical' dyer, his philosophy would be mainly

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<sup>638</sup> . Sancha, op. cit., 1787, n.p.. Bails owned a copy of *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* for the year 1776 and possibly also for later years (Arias, op. cit., cat. nos. 124, 271).

<sup>639</sup> . Macquer, op. cit., 1789, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>640</sup> . Larruga, E. *Memorias políticas y económicas...* Madrid, 1788, vol. 3, p. 149.

<sup>641</sup> . Fernández, L. *Tratado instructivo y práctico sobre el arte de la tintura: reglas experimentales y metódicas para tinter sedas, lanas, hilos de todas clases y esparto en rama...* Madrid, 1778, pp. xxi-xxvii.

empirical and hence, dependent on his well-trained eye and on his practical experience of the craft.

The original French manual established links between dyers and painters based upon chemical and optical analysis of light and colour. One of its authors, the chemist Macquer, who would become a correspondent member of the Academy of Medicine of Madrid, emphasised the difference between the relatively homogeneous nature of oil painting and the unequal surface of the tapestry. This was another consequence of the application of optics to the improvement of manufactures that anticipated Eugène Chevreul's research on the contrast of colours in the 1830s.<sup>642</sup> Images of threads of wool or silk seen through the microscope were described in manuals on optics, such as Adams's *Micrographia*. Macquer's description of the process of dying suggested that the absorption of an 'assemblage of particles' by 'an infinite number of fibres' can have unexpected effects in the spectator's eye:

With regard to ingredients for colouring, those used by the dyer are of the same nature as those used by the Painter, differing only in the manner of operation, as it is sufficient for the painter, if the colouring particles be deposited on the surface of his subject; but with regard to the Dyer, they must be inclosed within the pores of his.<sup>643</sup>

Macquer's empirical observation finds a visual equivalent in the last plate in Adams's *Micrographia*, where some examples of 'artificial things' are represented as seen through the lens of the microscope. Adams chooses two fragments of woven textiles ('fine lawn' and silk ribbon) and observes that 'if the silk be white, each

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<sup>642</sup> . Chevreul, E. *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs et de l'assortiment des objets colorés, considéré d'après cette loi dans ses rapports avec la peinture, les tapisseries des Gobelins...* Paris, 1839.

thread appears like a bundle or wreath of transparent cylinders; if coloured, they appear curiously tinged, each of which affording in some part or other a vivid reflection'.<sup>644</sup> In the same years, another manual on the same subject was published by the professional dyer based in Leeds, James Haigh.<sup>645</sup> Like Fernández, Haigh addresses 'the common workmen who seldom know more than facts and custom'. His distinction between two different ways of combining colours, in which both dyers and weavers would be involved, corroborates Adams's description:

One of the most agreeable Effects of the Art of Dying, is the diversifying the colours of stuffs. There are two ways by which this agreeable variety is produced, either by needle-work with threads of different colours, on an uniform Ground; or by making use of the Yarn of different Colours in the weaving.<sup>646</sup>

Haigh exemplifies the approach of the 'philosophical dyer', whose 'philosophy' was based on personal experience and observation. His knowledge of the effect of contiguous colours on the spectator's retina could therefore be of use to the 'rational artist'. His manual specified that 'sometimes colours are made by mixing wool of different shades', instead of 'dying the stuff of a compound colour'.<sup>647</sup> Disregarding the principles that regulate these combinations could result in the work failing to 'please the eye', as Bayeu noted in his report on the factory of Santa Bárbara.<sup>648</sup> The practical experience of the dyer and the weaver suggested to the 'rational' painter another possible way of using colour. Its mixture and

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<sup>643</sup> . Ibid., p. 415.

<sup>644</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1771, p. 324.

<sup>645</sup> . Haigh, J. *The Dyer's Assistant in the Art of Dying Wool and Wollen Goods*. Leeds and London, 1778-1780.

<sup>646</sup> . Ibid., p. xiv.

<sup>647</sup> . Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>648</sup> . Sambricio, op. cit., doc. 86, p. lxiii.

combination could be effected not in the palette, but in the retina of the spectator. Their observations, as well as the daily practice of the workshop or the studio, evidence how the materiality of the object intrudes into the field of vision, so that the disembodiment of sight needs to be called into question.

### *The blots of reason*

Why might Goya's images of the people be subjected to the mediation of the optical instrument? In his *Optics*, Ramírez referred to representations of contemporary society as 'hieroglyphic paintings' that required interpretation. He emphasised the detachment provided by the mechanism of the microscope, so that the spectator 'is removed from any danger'. The author clarified the meaning of this 'danger' when he specified that the main advantage of the optical device was that it allows 'seeing everything without any physical contact with the people'.<sup>649</sup>

The microscope performs at least three functions with respect to the painted image. First, optical devices police perception by turning sight into a carefully staged operation. The relationship between the spectator and the object is determined by the machine, which provides the necessary detachment. As Adams noticed in his essay on vision, 'the instrument neither perceives, compares, nor judges; these are powers peculiar to that psychological unity which we call the MIND'.<sup>650</sup> But the neutrality of

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<sup>649</sup> . 'Si Vmd. quiere registrar conmigo todo el fondo estando del peligro retirado, he inventado una Máquina, que vulgarmente llaman *Óptica*, por donde se puede verlo todo sin llegar al físico trato de las gentes' (Ramírez, op.cit., p. 12).

<sup>650</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1789, p. 52.

the lens was only apparent. Benjamin Martin's 'polydynamic microscope' was advertised in these terms in 1771:

The most inquisitive and scrupulous *connoisseur* will by this construction have it in his Power to view Objects every way, by Single lenses, or by a Composition of them; magnified in any Degree he pleases; and capable of being measured with ease in all their Dimensions by a most exact Micrometer.<sup>651</sup>

The microscope not only established a certain distance between the observer and his or her object. It also provided the former with control over very the ways in which the image was presented and perceived. At the same time, as Adams's text suggested, the separation of 'the physiological from the psychological aspects of seeing' provided the epistemological grounds on which technological interference could be denied or, at least, minimised.<sup>652</sup> The optical instrument would contribute only to the physical part of the process and that would be also the role of the eye. Such denial is, however, one of the ideological uses of the technologies of vision. It is this technology that establishes the 'naturalness' of what is seen, as Barthes suggests it when describing the spectator as 'glued to the representation'.<sup>653</sup> In Barthes's model, the technologically mediated spectacle (cinema in this case) is not complacently passive and it does not involve necessarily the alienation of the spectator. The viewer is split in 'two bodies', one 'lost into the engulfing mirror' of

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<sup>651</sup> . Martin, op. cit., 1771, p. 8.

<sup>652</sup> . Nelson, R. S. 'Descartes's cow and other domestications of the visual', in *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance*. Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 6.

<sup>653</sup> . 'The image captivates me, captures me: I am *glued* to the representation, and it is this glue which established the *naturalness* (the pseudonature) of the filmed scene (a glue prepared with all the ingredients of 'technique')' (Barthes, R. 'Leaving the Movie Theater', in *The Rustle of Language*, transl. R. Howard. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986, p. 348).

representation and the other aware of –and complicit with– the artifice of the situation. His or her agency is, therefore, only partially surrogated.

Optical devices were also intended to contribute to the effect of reality of the painted image by creating volume –*relievo*– and movement. In the 1795 edition of his *Museo Pictórico y Escala Óptica*, Antonio Palomino remarks that ‘whether embroidered or woven, any representation of bodies on a flat surface by means of lines, lights and shadows, following optical precepts, is Painting’.<sup>654</sup> In June 1788 a review of the *History of Embroidery* by ‘Mr de Saint-Aubin, draughtsman-embroider to the King of France’ was published in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*. The reviewer focused on Saint-Aubin’s parallel between embroidery and painting as ‘sister arts’. He explained that ‘like the painter, the good craftsman will be able to master *invention*, *composition*, *drawing* and *colouring*, which are the four parts where all the success of both the needle and the brush truly resides’.<sup>655</sup> Perfecting the illusion that equals the woven surface, the painted canvas and the retinal image involves achieving the effect of ‘relievo’ mentioned by Adams.

Rejón de Silva suggested in his 1786 poem *On Painting* that bringing the lighter colours close to the spectator, while keeping the darker areas far from the eye contributed to ‘imitate relief on a flat surface’, which was the main aim of the ‘enlightened painter’.<sup>656</sup> But in *A Treatise on the Eye* (London, 1759), Porterfield considered this reproduction of reality beyond the painter’s competence:

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<sup>654</sup> . Palomino, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>655</sup> . ‘El diestro bordador debe ser como el diestro pintor; porque el bordado y la pintura son hermanas y en tanto será un artista de mérito en quanto sepa reunir en su facultad como el pintor en la suya la *invencion*, la *disposicion*, el *dibujo* y el *colorido*, que son realmente las quatro partes en el que funden la aguja y el pincel todo su acierto’ (*Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, nº 131, 2/6/1788, p. 28).

<sup>656</sup> . Rejón, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

There are ... *six means* which serve our sight for judging of the Distance of Objects, viz. their apparent Magnitude, the vivacity of their Colour, the Distinction of their smaller Parts, the necessary Conformation of the Eye seeing distinctly at different Distances, the Direction of their *Axes*, and the Interposition of other Objects .... Of these six Things ..., there are only the three first that Painters can possibly make use of in Pictures; when it is, that it is impossible for them perfectly to deceive the sight.<sup>657</sup>

The natural effect of relief results from the reception of two separate images entered simultaneously through each eye and combined in the retina. It was precisely this coexistence of two 'slightly different images', and their subsequent fusion, that led to questioning seventeenth-century mathematical perspective as 'not in accord with the realities of natural vision'.<sup>658</sup> The interpretation of these external data was effected by the mind, which was therefore responsible for the ideas of volume and distance. Porterfield's reference to painting also called into question the myth of the perfect reproduction of nature. In his treatise on vision, Adams suggested that the 'bold relievo' resulting from the combination of the images perceived with each eye distinguished the pictures produced in the mind from those created by the painter:

By both eyes we see in some measure round an object: and it is this which assists in giving that bold relievo, which we see in nature, and which no painting, how exquisite soever, can attain to. The painter must be contented with shading on a flat surface.... This is not the fault of the artist, but an imperfection in the art. To remove these defects, the connoisseurs in painting look at a picture with one eye through a tube, which excludes the view of other objects.<sup>659</sup>

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<sup>657</sup> . Porterfield, op. cit., p. 409.

<sup>658</sup> . Field, J. V. *The Invention of Infinity. Mathematics and Art in the Renaissance*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 214.

<sup>659</sup> . Adams, op. cit., 1789, p. 13.



Adams referred to the shortcomings of traditional pictorial techniques when compared to the illusion of reality achieved by his optical devices. The utmost refinement in the use of light and shadow could not equal the perfection of those images seen through his lenses. The painter's knowledge of how contiguous brushstrokes or threads of different colours were perceived contributed to the effect of reality. However, Adams considered the illusion of relief beyond the painter's powers. He suggested that only the unifying, focusing lens could help the eye make sense of the coloured shapes on the canvas. The debate is relevant when considering Jovellanos's comments on the 'wise application of optical principles' that characterises the Spanish 'naturalist' school, as represented by Velázquez and Goya.<sup>660</sup> But in his *Discourses*, Reynolds refers to this 'reality effect' in a condescending tone as below the elevated aims of the 'rational artist':

This favourite quality of giving objects relief,... which... all the Criticks have considered as a requisite of the utmost importance, was... a great object of attention when art was in its infant state, as it is at present with the vulgar and ignorant, who feel the highest satisfaction in seeing a figure, which, as they say, looks as if they could walk around it.<sup>661</sup>

Reynolds's words evidenced a distrust of anything approaching what Barbara Stafford called 'visual quackery'.<sup>662</sup> The deception involved in contriving this effect of reality was also dismissed by Jovellanos in his proposal for the reform of public entertainment.<sup>663</sup> Jovellanos specifically targeted popular spectacles involving the

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<sup>660</sup> . Jovellanos, G. M. *Oración pronunciada en la junta pública que celebró la Real Academia de San Fernando el día 14 de Julio de 1781 para la distribución de premios generales de Pintura, Escultura y Arquitectura*. Madrid, 1781, p. 36. For Jovellanos's comments on Velázquez and Goya, see, op. cit., 1789, p. 156.

<sup>661</sup> . Reynolds, op. cit., *Discourse VIII*, 1778, p. 160.

<sup>662</sup> . Stafford, B. M. 'Conjuring. How the virtuoso Romantic learned from the Enlightened charlatan', in *Art Journal*, vol. 52, n° 2, 1993, p. 22.

<sup>663</sup> . Haidt, op. cit., p. 4.

use of optical machines. Deception was acceptable, however, within the context of privately organised entertainment, like the fashionable *tablon* or *tableaux vivant* attended by the Duchess of Osuna and described in a letter from Llaguno to Campo in April 1786. Llaguno noticed the ambiguity of this form of visual entertainment as a practice of seeing which he associated with the episode of the puppet show in *Don Quijote*.<sup>664</sup> The *tableau vivant*, 'which is neither representation, nor pantomime', merged different practices of seeing, thus evidencing the illusionist resources shared by Painting and spectacle.

In the *Optics of Courtship*, however, the illusion of reality produced by the combination of microscope and mirror was intended to educate the spectator. Before the intervention of Understanding, the images placed in front of him appeared as pleasing and 'picturesque'. But when they were seen through the microscope and inserted in a sequence, their meaning changed. The lens allowed the spectator to go beyond defective appearances and to perceive what the author of the pamphlet describes as the 'blots of reason' [*borrones de la razón*].

Goya's comments on his works for the Royal Tapestry Factory have been recalled as an example of his difficulties to satisfy the demands of conventional courtly commissions. However, his remarks about specific compositions, such as *The Meadow of San Isidro*, do not suggest that he saw them only as minor tasks imposed by an official post:

The subjects are so difficult and demanding, such as the Pradera de San Isidro ..., with all the multitude and activity ... that I am almost beside myself and

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<sup>664</sup> . Letter from Llaguno to Campo, AGS Secc. Estado, leg. 8157, April 1786? (appendix 9h).

can neither sleep nor rest until the whole thing is over, and I cannot call this living the life I now live.<sup>665</sup>

In *The Meadow of San Isidro*, the technical challenge imposed by the medium is aggravated by the problem of representing an undefined crowd. In his letter to Martín Zapater, Goya refers to the compromise that he must find between representing the particulars of the scene and achieving a general effect. Considering a similar problem, Reynolds, whose *Discourses* were known in Spain both in the original English version and in abridged translations, mentions ‘the painter’s power of contracting as well as dilating his sight’.<sup>666</sup> This adaptation of the eye implies its adjustment to the mind’s ‘own mode of conceiving’. The resulting representations are therefore ‘congenial and natural to the mind of man’.<sup>667</sup> Reynolds’s remarks might have been intended only as a metaphor of the painter’s sight, but Porterfield provided a precedent of this explanation of the change of the conformation of the eye:

We are possessed of the Power of changing the conformation of our Eyes, and of adapting them to various Distances. This Change in our Eyes, whereby they are fitted for seeing distinctly at different Distances, does always follow a similar Motion in the Axes of vision, with which it has been connected by use and custom.<sup>668</sup>

According to Porterfield, the mind would contribute to this change of conformation by directing the necessary adjustments and corrections. As in former

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<sup>665</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 2004, p. 200.

<sup>666</sup> . On the Spanish translation of Reynolds’s *Discourse XIII* in 1788 and on the influence of his works in Spain, see Raquejo, T. *Los Placeres de la Imaginación y otros ensayos de ‘The Spectator’*. Madrid: Visor, 1991, p. 110.

<sup>667</sup> . Reynolds, op. cit., *Discourse XI*, p. 192.

occasions, his words on the subject were reproduced by Bails for the benefit of the students at the Academy of San Fernando.<sup>669</sup> Porterfield considers colour, distance or proportion as dependent on the connection between eye and mind.<sup>670</sup> The peculiarities that their combined operations present in each observer not only diversify perception, but they also preclude foreseeing the conditions in which it is effected.

The painter's eye works as a lens, but so does the spectator's. Therefore, any attempt to represent the 'mental picture on a canvass', as Reynolds recommends, must take into account the role of 'the eye as a lens' in perception.<sup>671</sup> The mediation of the eye / lens is distinguished from the role of the mind in the perceptual process. The painting is not only the image 'situated at the threshold between the world and our perception of it' described by Alpers.<sup>672</sup> In order to show the mental image, the picture must be turned into a 'viewing' object representing the act of seeing itself.<sup>673</sup> The notion of the painting as a 'depiction of perception' has been recognised by Baxandall in the medical theories of Camper, already mentioned.<sup>674</sup>

Goya's cartoons can be analysed in terms of Baxandall's question about 'how much perception is represented' in a painting. Ramírez's *Optics* deploys a very specific practice of seeing based on the (legitimizing) mediation of the optical instrument. The images that Understanding places before the spectator's eyes as in a

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<sup>668</sup> . Porterfield, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 415-416.

<sup>669</sup> . Bails, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 255.

<sup>670</sup> . Porterfield, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 366.

<sup>671</sup> . Reynolds, op. cit., *Discourse IV*, 1771, p. 58.

<sup>672</sup> . Alpers, op. cit., 1983, p. 27.

<sup>673</sup> . For the image as equivalent to 'the act of viewing', see Sobchack, V. *The address of the eye. A phenomenology of film experience*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992, p. 21.

<sup>674</sup> . Baxandall, op. cit., 1985, p. 96. For Paret and Camper, see Delgado, op. cit., pp. 56-57 and Morales, op. cit., 1996, p. 90.

succession of amplified framed 'slides' suggest 'a snatch or moment of perception' that prevents sustained attention.<sup>675</sup> The cartoon does not need to represent the whole of the perceptual act, but it corresponds to a stage previous to the interference of the mind.<sup>676</sup> The model of 'split' spectatorship described by Barthes explains how that previous stage of unaware involvement can be considered almost simultaneous by the same –aware– subject. But other models are also possible. David Hartley describes the doubling of perception produced when such severance is not effected. The result is the confusion of the mechanisms of association of ideas with those of memory:

Some persons seem to suppose that the soul surveys one object, the old for instance, and comparing it with the impressions which a similar new one would excite, calls the old one an object remembered. But this is like supposing an eye within the eye to view the pictures made by the objects upon the *retina*.<sup>677</sup>

Although the camera obscura had traditionally been identified with the Cartesian paradigm of vision, the 'artificial eye' became one of the preferred instruments to teach optics in the eighteenth century. Both Adams and Martin fabricated and sold 'artificial eyes', which Frances Terpak associates with 'Descartes's model of the human eye'.<sup>678</sup> This instrument exemplifies the disembodiment of this organ, but it also shows the problems implicit in Descartes's model. His inquiry into the mechanisms of the eye is based on a doubling of vision.

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<sup>675</sup> . Baxandall, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>676</sup> . Ilie, P. *The Age of Minerva. Counter-Rational Reason in the Eighteenth Century*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.

<sup>677</sup> . Hartley, D. *Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind, on the Principle of the Association of Ideas...* London, 1775, p. 213.

<sup>678</sup> . Terpak, F. 'The eye, natural and artificial', in Stafford and Terpak, op. cit., p.143.

Porterfield solves this problem turning the association of eye and lens into the metaphor of ‘the eye as lens’:

Our own Eyes are really no other than a kind of natural Spectacles; ... their Humours do the same Office as the lenses of dioptrical Instruments; and ... according to the Figure of the Cornea and Crystalline, and their Distance from the Retina, Objects are seen very differently.<sup>679</sup>

Goya’s self-portrait in front of his easel (Madrid, Private Collection) also suggests the painter’s exploration of optical effects and illusions (fig. 78). He turns his back to the window and paints under the light produced by the candles set in the brim of his hat. In his *Discourse XIV*, Reynolds refers to painting by candlelight to explain the ‘breadth of light and shadow’ and the ‘breadth and uniformity of colour’ achieved by Gainsborough.<sup>680</sup> Goya’s system involves manipulating the projection of light, which would not fall directly on the canvas or over the painter’s eyes. This arrangement recalls Porterfield’s advice: ‘for everything is best seen, when the light of the candle is intercepted, so as not to shine upon the Eye’.<sup>681</sup> The adjustments and corrections that the mind effects upon the image seen through the lens would be alluded to in Reynolds’s 1788 self-portrait with spectacles (fig. 80).

Goya’s representations of disembodied/re-embodied eyes in the drawing sent to Martín Zapater suggest different interpretations. The drawing might illustrate a private joke, as do many other images accompanying his letters. But the eye in the hand can also refer to the process that leads from the eye to the hand of the painter –

<sup>679</sup> . Porterfield, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 366.

<sup>680</sup> . Reynolds, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>681</sup> . Porterfield, op. cit., p. 188.

or 'the arc between retina and brush', as Bryson observed.<sup>682</sup> Moreover, it suggests the link between the moment of perception and the moment of representation, which can be associated with 'invention'. The relation between eye, mind and hand explains the association of the eye with the knife or the brush, as the instruments that Goya used to spread the colour on the surface of the canvas. That continuity allows the communication of his 'ideas by visible representation', which is the essential quality of the painter proposed by Reynolds as a rational alternative to the vagueness of 'genius':<sup>683</sup>

The artist who has his mind... filled with ideas and his hand made expert by practice, works with ease and readiness; whilst he who would have you believe that he is waiting for the inspirations of Genius, is in reality at a loss how to begin; and it is at last delivered of his monsters with difficulty and pain.<sup>684</sup>

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<sup>682</sup> . Bryson, N. *The Logic of the Gaze*. London: MacMillan, 1983, p. 103.

<sup>683</sup> . Reynolds, op. cit., *Discourse XI*, 1782, p. 192.

<sup>684</sup> . Ibid., *Discourse II*, 1769, p. 37.

## Chapter 5. Realism updated

### 1. Marketing the natural style

#### *'Nature into painting'*

The Spanish school of painting was characterised by its realism and placed, therefore, in a disadvantageous position within a hierarchy dominated by the 'ideal style'. This chapter explores the strategies aimed at investing Spanish realism with 'updated' contents. The updating was aimed at simultaneously recovering and renewing tradition. However, other results were also expected from the redefinition of 'national' taste, which should promote Spanish manufactures in their competition with foreign products. Paintings and prints were thus subjected to the laws of a market that imposed new modes of seeing identified with specific forms of consumption.

Goya's tapestry cartoons exemplify an 'ideological division' between the roles of artists and craftsmen involved in the production of luxury goods.<sup>685</sup> They also reveal the common grounds for the activities of both groups and the productive interaction of their aims and criteria. Goya's concern with the differentiation of



manual labour and visual representation can still be connected to the redefinition of the figure of the painter in late eighteenth-century Spain. In a society where a medieval notion of nobility still operated, manual crafts retained the negative connotations that they had in Velázquez's time and that Cabarrús still deplored as damaging for the Spanish economy in the 1790s.<sup>686</sup>

Goya's series also suggests a solution to the problem of the distance between painter and artisan by means of their shared response to common concerns, such as the dependence of their works on changing patterns of perception and consumption. Although the existence of a 'consumer revolution' in late eighteenth-century Spain must be qualified, its first symptoms can be found within the context of the textile industry.<sup>687</sup> Weavers and dyers, such as Luis Fernández, were aware of the importance of the practical application of optical principles in order to 'please the eye', despite their dismissal of 'metaphysical speculation'. On the other hand, the scientific painter could reinterpret traditional realism according to current developments in the theory of optics to suit the enlightened spectator's taste. The reproduction of Goya's works takes into account a more diversified audience, whose tastes do not necessarily correspond with the aims of his royal patrons, but to the effects of novelty and fashion regulating consumerism.

Campomanes opens his 1775 *Discourse on the Promotion of the Popular Education of Craftsmen* with a reflection on how 'the arts suffer the inconstancy of

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<sup>685</sup> . For a historical overview of the division of 'manual labor' and 'visual representation', see Jones A. R. and Stallybrass, P. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 92.

<sup>686</sup> . Cabarrús, F. *Cartas sobre los obstáculos que la naturaleza, la opinión y las leyes oponen a la felicidad publica*. Vitoria, 1808, p. 42.

the varying duration of human caprices'.<sup>688</sup> The minister's declared aim was to improve the mode of production of Spanish manufactures, so that they could meet the demands of a market regulated by changing patterns of taste. In his introduction, Campomanes suggests the relationship between the five senses and the 'arts', understood in the broad sense of the production of consumer goods including Painting. He refers to optics as one of the 'auxiliary' sciences that help or enhance sight, so that it can reach even those objects 'escaping its jurisdiction'. Its knowledge allows both craftsmen and artists to contrive the 'wonderful combination of colours and their systematic distribution' by means of which 'every work of art' is made perceptible to sight.<sup>689</sup> Regardless of the academic artists' attempts at self-definition, Campomanes's discourse links science, crafts and the 'liberal' arts within a broader program aimed at promoting industry and trade. Establishing the distinctive character and the necessity of his or her own role within this shared project of reform becomes therefore one of the painter's concerns.

The success achieved by Goya's works in the 1780s and 1790s can be connected with the valuation of their 'truth to nature' by his contemporaries.<sup>690</sup> Goya's concern with the accurate reproduction of visible reality was soon associated with the recovery of Spanish seventeenth-century realism.<sup>691</sup> But this tradition was reinterpreted from the position of the eighteenth-century 'naturalist painter'. Although the use of the term 'naturalism' can be anachronistic in this context,<sup>692</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> . Hoyo Aparicio, A. 'El tránsito al crecimiento económico moderno desde la perspectiva del consumo privado de bienes duraderos: guía para un debate', in Llopis, E., Torrás, J. and Yun, B. eds. 'El Consumo en la España Pre-industrial', in *Revista de Historia Económica*, vol. 21, 2003, p. 47.

<sup>688</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1775, p. 3 (appendix 5d).

<sup>689</sup> . Ibid., pp. 5-6 (appendix 5e).

<sup>690</sup> . Glendinning, N. *Goya and his critics*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977, p. 36.

<sup>691</sup> . Bozal, op. cit., 1994, p. 15.

<sup>692</sup> . Hemingway, op. cit., 1992, pp. 19-26.

references to the 'naturalist' character of the Spanish school frequently occur in theoretical writings of the period.<sup>693</sup> Goya's appropriation and reinterpretation of the national tradition merges its strong illusionist component with the methodological concerns raised by empiricism and sensationalism. This formative stage of Spanish realism draws upon the latest developments of the existing discourse of experimental and applied sciences. The resulting staging of vision is effected in the interface between realism and illusionism, which opens new possibilities for the production and the reproduction of images.<sup>694</sup>

Where can the demand for extreme realism be perceived? Royal commissions and projects from the 1770s onwards focused on 'the documentary depiction of the common people'.<sup>695</sup> Charles III's emphasis on the accurate reproduction of costumes and types in his commissions of tapestry cartoons reflects this aim. Accuracy and exactness in the perception and in the reproduction of the data registered by the senses were regarded as the conditions of true, reliable knowledge. For an ambitious painter, however, being identified as a faithful copyist of embroidered fabrics and hairnets was not a desirable option, especially when potential patrons were bestowing their praises on Mengs's students. Reclaiming Spanish traditional 'realism' in the name of contemporary experimental science satisfied the demands of the king, while also taking into account the tastes of a fashionable elite of potential customers.

How does the 'truthfulness to nature' associated with Spanish realism become almost synonymous with eighteenth-century 'naturalism'? The emphasis on

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<sup>693</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1789.

<sup>694</sup> . Tomlinson, op. cit., 1992, pp. 8-9 and 71.

vision characterising British empiricism provided a consistent theoretical background to the ‘faithful’ effect of what Reynolds described as Gainsborough’s ‘odd scratches’.<sup>696</sup> According to Kriz, these ‘visually arresting effects’ were identified with a ‘particular ideal of Englishness’, but also with the painter’s submission to the demands of the marketplace’.<sup>697</sup> Contemporary critics in England made a connection between the British school and seventeenth-century Spanish painting, in a moment when works by Velázquez and Murillo were finding a market among English *connoisseurs*.<sup>698</sup> At least a specific sector within the Spanish new elite was aware of the possible implications of this demand.

In a letter addressed to Llaguno by Mengs’s friend and biographer Nicolás de Azara, the latter referred to Spanish seventeenth-century painting as unfashionable in Italy, where he was ambassador at the time. Azara added that in England, on the contrary, works by Velázquez and Murillo are ‘justly valued and priced’.<sup>699</sup> In 1787, after reading Richard Cumberland’s account of his travels in Spain, Campo asked Llaguno about the matter in an alarmed tone:

I know that he [Cumberland] is spreading among fashionable and wealthy people the rumour that, with the sacrifice of five or six thousand pounds, certain superb original paintings, belonging to poor men and hidden in the corners and in the cellars of Madrid, might be slyly acquired.<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>695</sup> . Held, op. cit., 1987, p.41.

<sup>696</sup> . Asfour and Williamson, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>697</sup> . Kriz, op. cit., pp. 6-8.

<sup>698</sup> . See Brenneeman, D. A. *The critical responses to Thomas Gainsborough’s painting*. Providence: Brown University, 1995, pp. 86-88. On the taste for Spanish painting in late eighteenth-century England, see also Glendinning, N. Harris, E. and Russell, F. ‘Lord Grantham and the taste for Velázquez: “the electrical eel of the day”’, in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 116, n° 1159, 1999, pp. 598-605.

<sup>699</sup> . Cited in Wolf, op. cit., 1998, p. 42.

<sup>700</sup> . ‘Me consta que anda esparciendo entre gente de dinero y fantasía que si se quisiesen sacrificar cinco o seis mil libras esterlinas se podrían adquirir furtivamente ciertos soberbios originales que existen en Madrid en rincones y sótanos de pobres hombres’ (Letter from Campo to Llaguno, 31/3/1787, AGS, secc. Estado, leg. 8157).

Llaguno's reply eased Campo's mind, but the latter's concern evidences his awareness of an emergent taste for Spanish painting in Britain. One of the reasons for this affinity could be found in the new contents with which philosophical criticism furnishes old 'realism'. In his *Carta... sobre el estilo y gusto en la pintura de la Escuela Sevillana*, Ceán Bermúdez refers to Velázquez and Murillo as representative of the 'system of the naturalists'.<sup>701</sup> There are precedents for Ceán's use of this term in the 1780s, when Spanish theoreticians undertook the simultaneous definition and revaluation of a 'national' school of painting. Velázquez was the model proposed by Jovellanos and Ponz, who considered the recovery of the seventeenth-century tradition as key to the regeneration of contemporary painting. Spanish 'naturalism', however, rated low within the established parameters of classical criticism.

It is at this point when the interference of the lens is welcome as a means of detachment that guarantees the 'scientificity' of visual perception. The man-made origin of these artefacts, as well as their possible shortcomings, were ignored in order to invest their use with the neutral authority of rediscovered objectivity. The natural style thus became associated with the reliability of sight enhanced by means of optical instruments. This supposed 'technical' objectivity explains Ceán Bermúdez's endorsement of the association when suggesting the use of the camera obscura in Velázquez's paintings in 1800:

Persuaded that Painting is nothing but an exact imitation of nature, [Velázquez] decided to take advantage of every means of observing it. And

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<sup>701</sup> . Ceán, op. cit., 1806, p. 7.

he found a most reliable means in the camera obscura, which transforms nature into Painting, meaning that it shows nature as painted according to all the rules of art; and anyone who has compared Velázquez's style and precepts with the effect produced by this simple machine will be persuaded of this. Only the painter who emulates Velázquez will master the magic art of deceiving and surprising the spectator.<sup>702</sup>

The camera obscura is associated with the accurate reproduction of the visible world and also with specific painterly effects. Ceán does not find any contradiction between the 'exact imitation of nature' and the 'magic art of deceiving' that he associates with the machine. Its use can determine the arrangement of lights, shadows and colour. As a device that conditions not only perception, but also representation, the camera obscura becomes 'a source of style':<sup>703</sup>

In the camera obscura, as in Velázquez's works, a careful gradation of light and shadow in the distances and its increase in the figures of the foreground can be noticed: local colours are highlighted with respect to others.... Blots representing either groups or individual figures, with which other painters sometimes detach figures from each other, although they are not explained by the lack of light, appear coloured in his works, so that they produce the corresponding effect. Finally, the harmony, the dominant tone, the interposed air, everything is represented with the unfailing truth that springs from nature itself.<sup>704</sup>

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<sup>702</sup> . 'Convencido de que la pintura no es mas que una exacta imitacion de la naturaleza, [Velázquez] se propuso apurar todos los caminos para observarla, y halló el muy seguro de la cámara obscura, que transforma á la naturaleza en pintura, quiero decir, que presenta á la naturaleza pintada con todas las reglas del arte; y qualquiera que haya cotejado el estilo y máximas de Velázquez con el efecto que produce esta sencilla máquina se convencerá de ello. El pintor que no le imite, jamás llegará á poseer el arte mágico de engañar y sorprender al espectador' (Ceán, op. cit., 1800, vol. 5, pp. 175-176).

<sup>703</sup> . Alpers, op. cit., 1983, p. 31.

<sup>704</sup> . 'Así en la cámara obscura como en las obras de Velázquez se nota la precisa degradacion de la luz y de la sombra en las distancias, y su aumento en las figuras del primer término: los colores locales descuellan sobre los otros: el colorido de las carnes, el de los cabellos, ropas, celages, y de los demas acesorios que varía segun el gusto, el genio y el capricho de cada pintor, es aquí el genuino y el de la misma naturaleza. Las manchas de los grupos y de cada figura en particular, que para algunos otros pintores por la necesidad de separar unas figuras de otras sin que las motive la falta de luz, están aquí colocadas en su lugar y producen el efecto que corresponde. En fin la armonía, el tono dominante, el ayre interpuesto, todo se representa con aquella verdad infalible, hija de la misma naturaleza' (ibid.).

Alpers identifies Velázquez's paintings with an 'essentially descriptive pictorial mode', as opposed to the Italian narrative mode.<sup>705</sup> The descriptive mode was also recognised by Ceán as an available critical category. In his translation of Muratori's work published in 1782, Sempere praised the 'natural style' as an example of 'good taste' in the context of the practice of rhetoric.<sup>706</sup> Sempere's reasons, however, evidenced current uneasiness about the existing contradiction between this 'naturalness' and the purposes of rhetoric itself. Thus 'clarity' and 'property' in the use and choice of language were favoured notwithstanding the degree of artifice required to achieve this effect of simplicity and 'truthfulness'. Facing a similar problem, the sketchy manner of the Spanish school found its theoretical legitimation in the economy and sobriety of the seventeenth-century tradition:<sup>707</sup>

This system lasted until the middle of the seventeenth century, when other artists adopted the magic of Velázquez and Murillo to represent the atmosphere and the interposed air. Only the effect was expressed by means of drawing, using chalk instead of graphite and sticks instead of brushes; hence, at first sight their designs looked like blots, but when examined by intelligent eyes, they showed all the parts of the human body.<sup>708</sup>

Ceán referred to the productions of the naturalist painter in terms of their reception by an ideal observer who would know how to look at them. A similar specification was implicit in Mengs's references to painters belonging to what he called the 'natural style' in his letter to Antonio Ponz. The English translation of

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<sup>705</sup> . Alpers, op. cit., 1983, p. xxi.

<sup>706</sup> . Sempere, op. cit., 1782, p. 89.

<sup>707</sup> . Asfour and Williamson, op. cit., 1999, p. 20.

<sup>708</sup> . 'Duró este sistema hasta mediados del siglo XVII, en que adoptando otros artistas la magia de Velázquez y Murillo en representar hasta el ambiente y el ayre interpuesto, no expresaban con el dibuxo mas que el efecto, que trazaban con cisco de lestisco en lugar de lapiz, y con cañas en vez de

Mengs's writings on the paintings in the Spanish royal collection was published by John Talbot Dillon in 1782. It included a long footnote on Dillon's trip to Madrid in 1778 and on his personal acquaintance with Ponz.<sup>709</sup> Dillon was a naturalist in the traditional sense of 'natural philosopher'; his trip to Spain also resulted in a volume on the natural history of the country published in Birmingham, where the author was connected to the Lunar Society.

As translated by Dillon, Mengs's phrasing reveals the operation of specific practices of seeing in his description of the paintings associated with the 'ideal' and with the 'natural' styles. Each style demands distinct perceptual abilities and these are carefully distinguished in terms of the spectator's visual activity when facing the painting. According to Mengs descriptions, the 'natural style' is perceived by the eye moving over the surface of the canvas, whereas the 'ideal' becomes an object for the –static– mind to contemplate.

*'Outside and tinsel': painting on tinplate*

The definition of the eye as a 'mechanical maker of pictures' results from its identification with the mechanism of the camera obscura, so that 'to see' becomes 'to picture'.<sup>710</sup> The self-effacement characteristic of the practices of seeing associated with the natural style aims at asserting the factuality of the image. This paradoxical effect is produced by Goya's comments on his series of small cabinet paintings

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plumas: de manera que sus diseños parecían á primera vista unos borrones; pero examinâdos por ojos inteligentes, daban razon de todas las partes del cuerpo humano...' (Ceán, op. cit., 1806, pp. 114-115).

<sup>709</sup> . Mengs, A. R. *Sketches on the art of painting... translated by John Talbot Dillon*. London, 1782.

<sup>710</sup> . Alpers, op. cit., 1983, p. 33.



declaring his role as a witness to some of the scenes.<sup>711</sup> His concern with the figure of the observer already determined his depiction of vision in the tapestry cartoons. In the cabinet paintings, the same centrifugal composition is adopted. The spectator's gaze is thus focused on a central cluster of primary colours, whereas the edges and the corners are ill defined.

The small cabinet paintings were produced around 1793 and 1794 without any known previous commission. After their completion, Goya submitted them to the consideration of his fellow academics in Madrid, as explained in his two letters addressed to the director of the Academy, Bernardo de Iriarte.<sup>712</sup> Following their favourable reception, he asked for permission to send them to the Marquis of Villaverde, 'for his daughter, the *Señorita*, would like to see them, and I owe her the courtesy'.<sup>713</sup> According to the records of the Academy, they represented 'national pastimes' and, hence, explored further the themes of the tapestry cartoons.<sup>714</sup>

The subjects chosen by Goya in this series of eleven oil paintings on tinplate deal with the problem of staged perception and spectatorship. Wilson-Bareau has suggested a possible sequence for these images, from the lighter bullfighting topics to the darker images of prisons, fires and shipwreck.<sup>715</sup> The emphasis on witnessing that characterises the initial scenes is reinforced by the sense of the painter's detachment, both from the audience and from the spectacle. In the latter works of the series, however, this detachment asserts once more the rhetorical effacement of the

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<sup>711</sup> . Letters from Goya to Iriarte dated 04/01/1794 and 07/01/1794 (Symmons, op. cit., 2004, pp. 237-238).

<sup>712</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>713</sup> . Letter from Goya to Iriarte, 09/01/1794 (Symmons, op. cit., 2004, doc. 235, p. 239).

<sup>714</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 2004, doc. 233, p. 238.

<sup>715</sup> . Wilson-Bareau, op. cit. 1994, p. 32-33.

observer. The cabinet paintings thus offer an exploration of the degrees of involvement determining different types of spectatorship.

What has been suppressed in the small cabinet paintings? In the five scenes of bullfighting, Goya depicts the audience as an undefined crowd in the background (fig. 87). He positions himself in front of the spectators and closer to the bullring. The audience is characterised by its heterogeneity, since bullfighting was an entertainment attended by people belonging to every social group. Townsend noticed, however, that the difference in the price of admission determined the distribution of this initially mixed crowd within the circular space of what he describes as a 'theatre'.<sup>716</sup> In *Fire at night*, *Attack by robbers*, *Shipwreck*, *Interior of a prison* and *Yard with Lunatics*, both the audience and any other evidence of 'staging' have disappeared (figs. 85, 86). This absence can be interpreted as a rhetorical device that blurs the distinction between extreme realism and illusion in scenes that match the subjects of contemporary theatre plays.

The denial of the theatrical element involved in representation presents the problem of the relation between audience and stage, which is addressed more explicitly in the *Strolling Players* (fig. 81) and in the *Marionette Seller*. The latter turns the spectators, whose faces are seen at the viewer's height, into the only subject of the painting. The performer is seen from behind wearing a long cloak and a broad-rimmed hat, whereas the puppet-show in which all the attention of his audience is absorbed remains hidden for the external spectator. As in the case of the tapestry

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<sup>716</sup> . Townsend, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 351.

cartoons, Goya is representing sight, but in this context of popular spectacles, vision assumes the characteristics of the act of consumption.

In his essay *On Money* written in 1789, Foronda compares common knowledge of 'economic-political matters' with the upside-down view of the world provided by the camera obscura. Foronda adds a footnote explaining the mechanism of vision:

It is certain that we see objects turned upside-down. This mistake is the consequence of the way our eyes are formed. Objects are painted on them in reverse because the rays of light that constitute the image of the object cannot enter the eye unless they cross the small opening of the pupil. To get a more clear idea of how this reversion of images is effected, you can make a hole in a very dark room and every object outside will be seen painted on the wall of this camera obscura in reverse. The reason for this is that not every ray of light originating in each point of the object can go through the hole with its original disposition and extension... every point of the object sends images which reach the hole... with convergent directions; they intersect in this focus and then the object is painted with a reversed configuration.<sup>717</sup>

As in his tapestry cartoons, Goya's concern with the surface effects of light and colour are evidenced in his choice of materials in the cabinet series. The polished surface of the tinplate proves congenial to the effect of fluidity at which his loose brushstrokes aim. The 'mechanical' approach that explained the use of colour in terms of contiguity and affinity in his cartoons is replaced here by an understanding

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<sup>717</sup> . 'Es indubitable que vemos boca abaxo todos los objetos, cuyo yerro es consecuencia de la conformacion del ojo, en el qual se pintan los objetos en posición inversa, porque los rayos luminosos que forman las imágenes de dichos objetos no pueden entrar en el ojo sino cruzandose en la abertura pequeña de la pupila. Para lograr una clara idea del modo con que se hace esta inversión de imágenes, no hay mas que hacer un agujero en un cuarto muy obscuro, y se verán los objetos que vienen de fuera pintados en la pared de esta cámara obscura en una situación inversa; porque todos los rayos que parten de los diferentes puntos del objeto no pueden pasar por el agujero en la disposicion y extension que tienen al partir de dicho objeto... como cada parte y cada punto del objeto envia imágenes por todos los lados y ... los rayos que forman las referidas imágenes parten de todos los puntos del

of the interaction of pigments and metal more akin to that of the chemist.<sup>718</sup> Like other applications of contemporary science, Goya's use of tinplate can also be understood as a commercial strategy based upon the novelty of the material and of the technical process of its manufacturing.

The sense of theatricality prevalent in the cabinet paintings results not only from the subject, but also from the emphasis on the medium. The effect is achieved by the interplay of the sleek surface seen through the preparation and the thin layer of colour. Such finishing was allowed by the 'flatter and closer-grained surface' that distinguished the production of Welsh forges and tinplate works from their German and French rival suppliers at the end of the eighteenth century. Welsh 'rolled' iron sheets were usually sent either to London tinsmiths, most of them based in Crooked Lane, in the City, or abroad. They were used for japanning and turned into kitchenware and other domestic utensils decorated with painting or dyes.<sup>719</sup>

The use of japanning in eighteenth-century Britain has been studied in relation with contemporary interpretations of the notions of 'imitation' and 'counterfeit'.<sup>720</sup> These practices were often associated with patterns of consumption based on social emulation, but also with female consumers and with fashionable foreign goods.<sup>721</sup> Painting on tinplate became a means of turning Goya's works into

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objeto... con direcciones convergentes; así deben cruzarse en dicho centro, y pintarse despues los objetos, en un orden inverso' (Foronda, op. cit., 1789-1794, vol. 2, pp. 162-163).

<sup>718</sup> . Donovan, A. 'Pneumatic chemistry and Newtonian natural philosophy in the eighteenth century: William Cullen and Joseph Black', in *Isis*, vol. 67, n° 237, 1976, pp. 217-228.

<sup>719</sup> . Documentation file for *A Prison Scene* (BM 29), Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham.

<sup>720</sup> . Benhamou, R. 'Imitation in the Decorative Arts of the Eighteenth Century', in *Journal of Design History*, vol. 4, n° 1, 1991, pp. 1-13.

<sup>721</sup> . An analysis of japanning as 'a genteel occupation for ladies, as well as a matter of serious business' connected with imports from China and Japan and their European imitations can be found in Impey, O. 'Japanese Export Art of the Edo Period and Its Influences on European Art', in *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 18, n° 4, 1984, pp. 685-697.

objects of visual consumption invested with a market value similar to that of the spectacles (bull fights, street performances, theatrical scenes) represented in them. Access to those practices of vision and consumption that sanction the sense of belonging to an audience of spectators / consumers depends upon the knowledge of the codes regulating appearances.<sup>722</sup> The unequal distribution of such knowledge underlies Jovellanos's objections to some forms of public entertainments in his *Memorias sobre las Diversiones Públicas*. Goya's cabinet paintings show the activities and mechanisms by means of which their audience was formed.

The *Strolling Players* does not represent only the performance of a pantomime based on the *commedia dell'arte* in front of an admiring crowd (fig. 80). On the stage, Harlequin holds three bottles full of red liquid with his hands and head. His role can be identified with that of the 'zany' or assistant of the itinerant quack or mountebank. These spectacles aimed at selling useless remedies to a deluded audience are represented in Rowlandson's caricatures, which Goya could easily have known.<sup>723</sup> The same combination of popular show, optical deception and consumers' gullibility often appears in Dutch seventeenth-century paintings (fig. 82). In these images, the varied urban crowd of spectators provides the painter with the opportunity to compare the theatrical performance with parallel forms of social performance.

Street performances acquire a meaning slightly different in a Dutch satirical print published around 1780 (fig. 82). To the usual attack on quackery, this print adds

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<sup>722</sup> . See Douglas, M. and Isherwood, B. *The World of Goods. Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. New York and London: Routledge, 1996, p. xxi.

<sup>723</sup> . Wolf, R. *Goya and the satirical print in England and on the Continent, 1730 to 1850*. Boston: Boston College Museum of Art, 1991.

the association of the mountebank with British commercial strategies to place its products in foreign markets –Dutch in this case- by means of deception. Possible references to the dependence of Spain upon French economic policies also implicit in the satire might have rendered this image interesting for Spaniards such as Campo.<sup>724</sup> In February 1787, the ambassador wrote to Llaguno that he had always been against commercial treaties with France, since ‘far from buying our products, as the British do, they [the French] manage to sell us even wine and oil’.<sup>725</sup>

In Goya’s painting, the inscription ‘*alegoría Menandrea*’ on the tablet below only broadens the scope of this interpretation by generalising its moral application. But its more specific associations with the mechanisms of commercial society would be recognised by Bernardo de Iriarte, to whom Goya sent the twelve cabinet paintings and two explanatory letters in 1794. Apart from *vice-protector* of the Academy of San Fernando, in 1795 Iriarte was chairman of the national Committee of Commerce [*Junta de Comercio*] and of the recently created Company of Philippines [*Compañía de Filipinas*].<sup>726</sup> Similarly, in Defoe’s manual *The Complete Tradesman*, advertised in Sancha’s catalogue for 1787, the author establishes a parallel between customers fooled by the display of ‘outside and tinsel’ and the audience of popular spectacles:

Some people tell us ... that putting a good face upon things goes as far as the real merit of the things themselves; and that a fine painted gilded shop ... has a great influence upon the people ...; which is only satirizing on the blindness and folly of mankind, and showing how the world are to be taken in and

<sup>724</sup> . The reference to ‘foolish Charles’ in the Dutch text has been interpreted as an allusion to Charles III’s international politics, strongly influence by French commercial interests (George, M. D. *Catalogue of political and personal satires preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London: The British Museum, 1952, see entry for BM Sat 5717).

<sup>725</sup> . Campo to Llaguno, 17/2/1787, AGS, Secc. Estado, leg. 8157.

<sup>726</sup> . *Almanack mercantil*, op. cit., pp. 212-15.

deluded and imposed upon by outside and tinsel: ... But I do not see that ... this extends any farther than to a few toy-shops and pastry-cooks; and the customers of both those are not of credit sufficient ... to weigh in this case; we may as well argue for the fine habits at a *Puppet-shew* and a *Rope-dancing*, because they draw the mob about them.<sup>727</sup>

In the *Strolling Players*, the audience is seen from above, but not from the stage, where the actors are also shown from an oblique angle. This point of view, which does not appear in any other painting of the series, evidences the illusionist character of their performance and deprives it of any effect of reality. The combination of different perspectives disrupts the consistency with which the observer is self-effaced in the prison and catastrophe scenes. First, the observer appears as detached from the audience, whereas in the second group of paintings, he becomes the only audience, though here his detachment is required by the 'sublime' character of the subjects represented (fig. 86).<sup>728</sup>

The construction of a model of spectatorship becomes a unifying theme throughout the series. Its conception as a coherent whole is evidenced by the record of its presentation and acceptance in the Academy of San Fernando.<sup>729</sup> The cabinet paintings are described as representations of 'national pastimes' [*diversiones nacionales*]. This subject coincides with the analysis of 'national entertainment' commissioned in 1786 by the Royal Academy of History from Jovellanos.<sup>730</sup> His report was based on the premise that different social groups deploy distinctive patterns of behaviour when forming an audience and, hence, require different sorts of entertainment. He concluded that 'the people' should be allowed to have their own

<sup>727</sup> . Defoe, op. cit., pp. 276-277.

<sup>728</sup> . Hofmann, W. 'Unending shipwreck', in Mena and Wilson-Bareau, op. cit., 1994, p. 55.

<sup>729</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 2004, p. 238, doc 233.

pastimes, which must be participative, spontaneous and exclusive of any form of 'spectacle' offered as a ready-made form of consumption. In order to police public entertainment and its audiences, Jovellanos recommended a form of supervision 'certain and continued, yet invisible: known to everybody, but felt by no one'.<sup>731</sup> In *Sorting the Bulls*, two soldiers wearing bright red coats, swords and tricorns appear on horseback supervising the preparations for the bullfighting (fig. 87). Their presence seems to be justified by the implicit threat posed by the crowd in the background.

The documentary depiction of the people required the supposed neutrality usually attributed to the naturalist. But in his letters to Iriarte, Goya reclaimed once more the role of 'invention' in order to avoid being identified as a mere copyist. This insistence was explained when considering that the traditional definition of the natural style did not contemplate even the possibility of any interference from this mental operation in the work of the naturalist painter:

In the mere imitation of individual ordinary nature, nothing is required but the skill and accuracy of the eye and hand only; whereas in the imitation with that selection which endeavours to make things better, the exertions of the imagination and judgement (the two highest powers of the mind) are absolutely necessary in order to obtain that ... totality ... upon which only the artist can ground his title to genius, and be considered as the *maker, inventor, or creator* of his works.<sup>732</sup>

Goya's insistence on his invention appears as a response to current assumptions about the absence of this mental operation from the 'mechanical'

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<sup>730</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1796.

<sup>731</sup> . Ibid., p. 403 (appendix 7d).

<sup>732</sup> . Barry, op. cit., 1809, vol. 1, pp. 383-384.



production of the natural style. As Velázquez's heir and representative of the Spanish 'naturalist' school, Goya's descriptive paintings were expected to dispense with what was perceived as a characteristic of the ideal style. However, the word 'invention' assumed a different meaning when used in the context of the laboratory or the factory. Goya's early references to his own 'invention' had appeared in the invoices for the royal tapestry factory, where it acquired a market value of its own. In 1775, Campomanes mentions tinplate as the recently discovered result of 'chemical investigation' and as an example of 'invention' applied to the use of new materials:

There are auxiliary crafts whose advancement affects others considerably. Some provide technical advantages ... Others provide new materials, such as tinplate and brass, which result from meditation and from chemical investigations.<sup>733</sup>

Foronda also wrote on the economic advantages of 'invention' and scientific or technical discoveries:

The country rich in those objects aimed at satisfying our needs, either of utility, taste, imagination, fancy, or of any other sort, will be the wealthiest; since it will accumulate not only the largest amount of those signs representative of wealth, but also the superfluities that are the true constituents of wealth ... Each new consumer good introduced in a country diminishes its wealth while increasing the wealth of the country where it comes from.<sup>734</sup>

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<sup>733</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1774, pp. 24-25 (appendix 4c).

<sup>734</sup> . 'Aquel País que abunde de mas objetos destinados para llenar nuestras necesidades, ya sean de utilidad, ya de gusto, ya de imaginación, ya de capricho ó de qualquiera otra clase, será el mas opulento; pues acumulará mayor porcion de los signos representativos de la riqueza, y amontonan un superfluo de ellos, que es lo que verdaderamente constituye la opulencia .... Cada nuevo objeto de consumo que se introduce en un País disminuye su riqueza, y se la aumenta á aquel que la derrama' (Foronda, V. 'Disertación sobre la Platina', in *Miscelánea*, 1787, pp. 21-22).

Painting and sculpture were proposed as examples of the surplus value of manufactured goods in Francisco Martínez de Mata's discourses on the situation of Spanish economy, added as an appendix to Campomanes's dissertation on popular education. The seventeenth-century economist Martínez de Mata considered the capacity of the artist to transform materials and to increase their market price as 'a well known virtue of Painting and Sculpture'.<sup>735</sup> Martínez de Mata asserted that 'ingredients worth ten *reales* usually become paid in ten thousand *ducados*' when transformed into art objects.<sup>736</sup> In a footnote, Campomanes explained this theory further by comparing the price of the final product (the painting or sculpture) and the price of the materials used in its preparation. For the minister, the transforming, almost 'alchemical', power of 'invention' had a clear economic value, equivalent to that of any other manufacture.

Invention is then defined as 'the new combination of objects', which can be effected either in the mind of the painter or in the laboratory of the chemist. In either case, it required knowledge of the properties and of the uses of materials.<sup>737</sup> The minister, whose *tertulias* in Madrid were joined by Mengs, among others, did not make any significant difference between this kind of technical or scientific 'invention' and that characterising the works of the painter or the sculptor. However, later he suggested a distinction between 'imitative' arts, including Painting, Sculpture and Natural History, and 'inventive' arts, which referred more specifically to applied arts and manufactures.

<sup>735</sup> . Martínez de la Mata, F. 'Discurso 6', in Campomanes, op. cit., 1774, vol. 5, p. 103.

<sup>736</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1774, vol. 5, p. 103 (appendix 4d).

<sup>737</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1775, p. 26.

Does invention play any role with respect to the 'imitative' arts? Campomanes's classification is based on the dominant quality in each group, without necessarily excluding the other. On the one hand, the 'inventive arts' have their origins in a 'new combination of objects' and are more 'dependent on alterations and fashions'. On the other, the 'observations of the properties of objects' required by the imitative arts can thus contribute to the production of their materials.<sup>738</sup> Campomanes concludes with an assertion of the benefits of combining imitation and invention.

In 1788, the 'new regulations for the improvement of manufactures both of wool and silk' that Nicolás Joaquín Adame had written in 1759 were reprinted in the *Semanario Erudito y Curioso*. The author identified 'the lack of skilled draughtsmen and their remarkable lack of ability for invention' as the main causes for the 'deplorable state of Spanish factories'.<sup>739</sup> Such observations applied not only to the textile industry, but also to the manufacture of metals, like the tinsplate chosen by Goya as the support for his small cabinet pictures in 1794. The demand of this relatively new material by local craftsmen to produce hardware and cheap 'populuxe' goods could not be met by national factories.<sup>740</sup> The *quincallería* which, according to the list of Madrid business included in the *Almanack* for 1795, was sold by the family Galarza y Goicoechea into which Goya's son married in the early 1800s belonged to this category.<sup>741</sup> To prevent the import of tinsplate from the Netherlands and from England, an experimental factory was established in Salobre and operated

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<sup>738</sup> . Ibid. (appendix 5f).

<sup>739</sup> . 'La falta de dibujantes de habilidad, y la ninguna aplicación que se reconoce para inventar, constituye á nuestras fábricas en el mas deplorable estado, y en la precision de mendigar los exemplares de las extrangeras para imitarlas' (Adame, op. cit., 1788, p. 93).

<sup>740</sup> . Helguera Quijada, J. 'Una industria experimental del siglo XVIII: la fábrica de hojalata de Salobre, 1786-1798', in *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, 1980, vol. 4, pp. 125-151.

<sup>741</sup> . For a discussion of 'populuxe' goods in an eighteenth-century context, see Fairchild, C. 'The production and marketing of populuxe goods in eighteenth-century Paris', in Porter and Brewer, op.

between 1786 and 1798. The metal used by Goya, however, shows a degree of purity and a 'flatness and surface quality' beyond the average production of the Spanish factory and more akin to that imported from Wales.<sup>742</sup>

'Invention' acquires a slightly different meaning within the pre-industrial context of the royal factory. Experiments and technical improvement were conditioned by the choice of materials and by the physical process of production. In Britain, an increasing awareness of the mechanisms of consumption on the producer's part led to the development of a number of forms of 'product innovation'. These included an 'extension of the division of labour', the marketing of 'cheaper adaptations of costly objects' and the manipulation of fashion and novelty associated with names such as Wedgwood or Boulton, well known in the Spanish market.<sup>743</sup>

Invention could also be made to serve artifice, both in the marketplace and on stage. This effect of novelty in the combination of objects became part of new strategies of display aimed at surprising the spectator, thus demanding the constant resetting of his or her perceptual skills. In 1782, Sempere advised 'anybody intending... to submit to the public the productions of his genius' to combine 'invention' with those superficial qualities that 'provide objects with a pleasing appearance'.<sup>744</sup> According to Sempere, this new public enjoyed not only new subjects, such as the 'unknown truths' discovered in the sciences, but also, 'and

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cit., 1994, pp. 228-248; Styles, J. 'Product innovation in early modern London', in *Past and Present*, vol. 168, Aug 2000, pp. 124-169.

<sup>742</sup> . The results of the chemical analysis of the tinplate that describe it as 'virtually pure tin' (letter from Pattinson & Stead, 19/03/1970) are discussed in letter from Paul Jenkins on the tinplate industry in Wales (documentation file BM 29, Bowes Museum).

<sup>743</sup> . Styles, op. cit., pp. 164-166.

<sup>744</sup> . Sempere, op. cit. 1782, pp. 28-29 (appendix 1c).

maybe in a higher degree', 'the novelty of the methods and of the style'.<sup>745</sup> Invention appears again as the core of Mandeville's reflections on the division of tasks in the mechanical arts, which would be called into question by the necessary combination of manual and intellectual work:

They are very seldom the same sort of People, those who invent Arts, and Improvements in them, and those that enquire into the Reason of Things. This latter is most commonly practic'd by such, as are idle and indolent, that are fond of Retirement, hate Business, and take delight in Speculation: whereas none succeed oftener [*sic*] in the first than the active, stirring and laborious Men, such as will put their Hand to the Plough, try Experiments and give all their Attention to what they are about.<sup>746</sup>

In Goya's cabinet paintings, the exploration of the mechanisms of perception determines the shifting position of the viewer. The interest in the 'stimuli that move and set in action the rough springs of the organs of perception' that characterised contemporary writings on theatre and poetry was beginning to be shared by analysts of society like Sempere or Jovellanos.<sup>747</sup> In 1783, Goya's letters concerning the paintings of the Church of *San Francisco el Grande* revealed his awareness of the newly acquired importance of 'public opinion' for a painter.<sup>748</sup> Ten years later, the cabinet paintings evidence Goya's understanding of the 'springs' that move a public still in the making.

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<sup>745</sup> . Ibid., p. 28 (appendix 1d)..

<sup>746</sup> . Mandeville, B. *Fable of Bees, or Private Vices, Public Benefits*. Edinburgh, 1772, p. 152.

<sup>747</sup> . An analysis of the mechanisms of perception and sensation appeared in the article 'Style' published as part of a 'Philosophical examination of languages' in 'Paris. Examen filosófico sobre las lenguas', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 139, 23/07/1788, pp. 87-88.

<sup>748</sup> . Letter from Goya to Zapater dated 11/12/1784, in Symmons, op. cit., 2004, p. 157; see also pp. 118, 126.

*The Spanish 'school of daubers'*

In 1784, the *ilustrado* Eugenio Llaguno wrote to Bernardo del Campo about the display of the paintings for the church of *San Francisco el Grande*, which was one of Goya's first important public commissions.<sup>749</sup> Llaguno's negative views indicate his opinion about the poor quality of Spanish painting at the time. In his letter, Llaguno blames the Academy and he regrets that 'in the last century, when there was neither Academy nor school, there were Painters in Spain; now that we have an Academy, we get just daubers [*embadurnadores de lienzos*]',<sup>750</sup> The inclusion of Goya among the 'daubers' is not surprising, since only Mengs's followers were granted Campo's and Llaguno's approval. Campo similarly assesses contemporary British painting, after seeing the works exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1784:

Here we have the exhibition of paintings at the Academy. It is a very poor thing indeed: most of them are portraits and very few are good, but I think that there will be reasonably good Artists within the next few years, although never outstanding, since these people have too little fire and too much dullness. Ponz must have already told you that their architects do not produce anything tasteful, elegant or spirited in these times.<sup>751</sup>

A series of drawings and prints by Edward Francis Burney and Daniel Dodd showing the rooms, the audience and the way paintings were displayed at the Royal

<sup>749</sup> . Jordán de Urrés, J. 'Los últimos discípulos españoles de Mengs (Ramos, Agustín, Salesa, Napoli y Espinosa)', in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional 'Pintura Española siglo XVIII'*. Madrid: Fundación Museo del Grabado Español Contemporáneo, 1998, pp. 436-449. I am grateful to Nigel Glendinning for this reference.

<sup>750</sup> . 'Ahora se ha visto que el siglo pasado quando no habia Academia ni Colegio, habia en España Artistas de Pintura; y ahora q la hay solo tenemos embadurnadores de lienzos' (AGS. Sec. Estado, leg. 8157).

<sup>751</sup> . Letter from Campo to Llaguno, London, 19/5/1784, AGS. Sec. Estado, leg. 8517 (appendix 9a).

Academy in 1784 give an idea of what Campo saw.<sup>752</sup> The centre of the north wall of the Great Room at Somerset House was occupied by Reynolds's equestrian portrait of the Prince of Wales. Most of the pictures clustered 'in a centrifugal fashion' around Reynolds's work were small portraits and landscapes; John Fuseli's *Lady Macbeth* and Benjamin West's *Moses* were also among the exhibits.<sup>753</sup> Gainsborough, however, decided to withdraw his paintings from the show just before it opened. Campo's dismissive comments might have applied to Reynolds's portraits, among others. In January 1785, the Spanish envoy's reply to Llaguno's comments on *San Francisco El Grande* includes another comparison with the current state of British art:

I do agree with your views on the paintings for San Francisco, although I have not seen them. With respect to this, and to other subjects, I think that my ideas are improving and becoming clearer and clearer, since now I have the time and the leisure to meditate upon them .... Here they are miserly poor with respect to Painters. They are all portraitists and one or two of them who paint different subjects hardly know how to prepare their colours so that they last.<sup>754</sup>

Campo's comments suggest his increasing interest in painting during the years of his diplomatic service in London. His name appears regularly in the list of guests to the annual dinner at the Royal Academy opening.<sup>755</sup> The 'Marquess del Campo' is also mentioned by Henry Angelo in his autobiography as 'a most munificent patron', mostly of writers and playwrights.<sup>756</sup> The party that he organised

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<sup>752</sup> . Solkin, op. cit., 2001, pp. 24-28.

<sup>753</sup> . Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>754</sup> . Letter from Campo to Llaguno, London, 29/1/1785, AGS, Secc. Estado, leg. 8157 (appendix 9b).

<sup>755</sup> . Newby, E., ed. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.

<sup>756</sup> . Angelo, op. cit., pp. 502-503. Gainsborough's friend and patron Philip Thicknesse refers in his memoirs to 'Don Virio, secretary to his excellency the Marquis del Campo, the Spanish Ambassador'

in Ranelagh to celebrate George III's recovery was attended by over two thousand guests, including Queen Charlotte.<sup>757</sup> Both Fanny Burney and Hannah More remarked on the ambassador's sociable disposition, to which the latter added that 'you would rather take him for a frothy Frenchman than a proud Castilian'.<sup>758</sup>

Campo regularly sent books, prints and different goods to his friends in Madrid, but his correspondence does not register any reference to his own activity as a collector.<sup>759</sup> In 1785, however, he commissioned a copy of a portrait of Mengs belonging to Bernardo de Iriarte to be sent to London, 'so that people here can know the stern face of that great man'.<sup>760</sup> The copy, produced by Cosme Acuña under Ponz's supervision, was expected by Campo as part of a larger group of reproductions of Spanish paintings that the latter had promised to send to London in December 1785.<sup>761</sup>

Both Campo and Llaguno can be considered representative of a specific group within the Spanish *ilustrados*. While regretting the loss of the Spanish seventeenth-century tradition, this was not the model that they propose for the regeneration of the national school. Unlike Jovellanos or Ceán, they chose the classicist idealism embodied by Mengs's works and emulated by his Spanish followers, like Francisco Javier Ramos. Goya's reinvention of the 'natural style' is

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(Thicknesse, P. *Memoirs and anecdotes*. Dublin, 1790, p. 203). For Thicknesse's application for permission to settle in Spain in 1775-1776, see AGS, Sec. Estado, legs. 6989, 6995).

<sup>757</sup> . De Bellaigue, G., 'Huzza the King Is Well!', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 126, n° 975, 1984, pp. 325-331.

<sup>758</sup> . Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>759</sup> . AGS, Secc. Estado, legs. 8164 and 8157.

<sup>760</sup> . Letter from Campo to Bernardo de Iriarte, 5/5/1785, AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8157 (appendix 9c).

<sup>761</sup> . Campo to Tomás de Iriarte, 1/12/1785, AGS Sec. Estado, leg. 8157 (appendix 9d). On Cosme Acuña, see Tomlinson, op. cit., 1992, p. 206.



thus met by this sector with the same coldness that they bestow on British paintings of the time.

How can different attitudes to Spanish 'naturalism' define distinct groups within the new elite? The process of self-definition in which the elite was engaged at the time would include their identification with a specific type of 'observer'. Their understanding of the role of arts within the project of the Spanish enlightenment appears as another element within this strategy. When Mengs uses the word 'truth' to characterise the Spanish school, he specifies that he does not mean truth 'as it is', but the 'appearance of truth'.<sup>762</sup>

To achieve verisimilitude, volume and distance must be suggested by means of aerial and geometric perspective. In his letter on the school of Seville mentioned above, Ceán Bermúdez referred to Murillo and to the representatives of the Spanish school as 'faithful observers of nature', whose works appeal to 'those who know how to see and observe' its variety.<sup>763</sup> He praised especially their mastery of aerial perspective, which was also recognized by Jovellanos as a distinctive feature in Velázquez's works. Therefore, aerial perspective contributes to the painter's contrivance of perfect illusion, which according to Jovellanos was the paradoxical 'truth' characteristic of the Spanish school.

Who could be identified with Ceán's ideal of spectator that knows 'how to see and observe'? The model had its appeal, but also its drawbacks. In 1789, Jovellanos' writings on Velázquez and Goya still had an apologetic tone. Two were

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<sup>762</sup> . 'Carta de D. Antón Rafael Mengs to D. Antonio Ponz', in Ponz, A. *Viaje de España*, vol. 6. Madrid: Ibarra, 1775.

the main problems commonly discussed by theoreticians to Spanish painting. Its 'naturalist' character was considered purposively deceptive and, hence, equal to those visual tricks despised, for instance, by Reynolds. Moreover, the 'realism' of the subjects was regarded as revealing incapacity to raise above 'simple nature'. To reverse its negative connotations, Jovellanos had recourse to a definition of 'naturalist' in the context of the new, experimental philosophy. He praised sketchiness in 1789 as an index revealing the operations of the painter's mind.<sup>764</sup> Nor is this connection exempt from risks. The satirical *Libro de Moda* identified the 'naturalist' with the observer constantly deceived by external appearances and incapable of going beyond the surface of the object.<sup>765</sup> The author specifically mentions 'artists and artisans' who could be identified as such.<sup>766</sup>

## 2. Painting in the marketplace

### *'Bartering the real stock for the imaginary'*

With the development of expensive, sophisticated technical devices that either correct or re-enact perception, sight enters the stage of consumption. Optical machines that relied on constantly improved lenses allowed seeing images with the detachment required from the disinterested, scientific viewer. Their mechanisms also

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<sup>763</sup> . Ceán, op. cit., 1806, pp. 31, 120.

<sup>764</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1789.

<sup>765</sup> . Fernández de Rojas, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>766</sup> . Ibid., p. 121.

instructed him or her in the functioning of the eye, thus dispelling misconceptions and mystifications that could hinder accurate vision.

But scientific instruments were also goods targeted at a specific, luxury market. 'Scientific' observers became consumers not only of optical machines, but also of theories on vision and of public demonstrations considered as symptoms of the 'emergence of natural knowledge as a commodity'.<sup>767</sup> Despite their significant role as interpretative tools to understand the 'reality' of the images associated with them, lenses mounted in elegant brass pedestals were not available to all sorts of spectators. Their use in public shows required the interference of an operator, who imposed his superior knowledge of optics and of the production of images on an impressionable audience. In the context of the amateur scientist's cabinet, they became a piece of furniture marking the owner's status and asserting his or her autonomy as a perceiving subject, as noticed with respect to the *Óptica del Cortejo*.

How do optical instruments contribute to the construction of sight as consumption? First, images transformed by means of lenses and mirrors acquire a different value as commodities that can be circulated and consumed, as in optical spectacles. The circulation of these 'visual commodities' and of their meanings exemplifies the socially constructed nature of perception.<sup>768</sup> Lenses and the accompanying theories and procedures that explain how to operate them embody not only science and technology, but also consumption and fashion. Thus, the use of an optical instrument can alter the status of the printed or painted image associated with

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<sup>767</sup> . Schaffer, in Porter and Brewer, op. cit., p. 490.

<sup>768</sup> . McCracken, G. *Culture and Consumption. New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988, p. xiv.

it by turning its original 'use-value' into 'exchange-value'.<sup>769</sup> Both concepts are explained in the Spanish version of Condorcet's translation of Adam Smith's 1792

*The Wealth of Nations*:

The word *value* has two meanings: in some cases, it means the advantage or the use that we derive from an object; in other cases, it refers to what that thing produces when exchanged for another. The first is called use-value [*valor de utilidad*], whereas the second is called exchange-value [*valor de cambio*].<sup>770</sup>

The shift from the use-value to the exchange-value of an image involves a new emphasis on its 'social life' as a consumer good.<sup>771</sup> Goya's tapestry cartoons exemplify the ambiguous role of images subjected to changes in the modes of production and consumption. These alterations were only tentatively adopted in the still pre-industrial system of the royal factories. Their original use-value as the products of the painter's work for the king became exchange-value as a result of the possibility of their reproduction by means of prints or of optical devices.

In the 1780s, the Spanish economy experienced significant changes aimed at its modernisation. The monopoly of guilds was suppressed in 1783, when Charles III gave new regulations to the *Cinco Gremios*. This was the association of the most powerful guilds operating in Madrid, whose new building in Atocha was finished by

<sup>769</sup> . For the definition of 'use-value' as 'the product of value as a material process' identified with 'concrete, or qualitatively differentiated [labour]: it is tailoring, weaving, mining, etc.', as different from 'exchange-value' or the 'social relational property of a thing', see Cohen, G. A. *Karl Marx's Theory of History. A Defence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000, pp. 100-101, 115.

<sup>770</sup> . 'La palabra *valor* tiene dos sentidos: en algunos casos significa la ventaja, ó utilidad que sacamos de una cosa, y en otros la proporcion que nos da para cambiarlo por otra. En la primera significacion le llamaremos valor de utilidad, y en la segunda valor de cambio' (Martínez de Irujo, C. *Compendio de la obra inglesa intitulada Riqueza de las Naciones* ...Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1792, p. 21).

<sup>771</sup> . Appadurai, A. *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 5-8.

1789. In that year, and coinciding with the celebrations of the coronation of Charles IV, Paret was commissioned to paint ephemeral decorations for the façade.<sup>772</sup> Goya also had connections with this commercial institution. His daughter-in-law belonged to the Galarza y Goicoechea family, whose hardware business was mentioned in the commercial almanac for 1795, which stated that they ‘attended some fairs’, possibly similar to those represented in Goya’s cartoons.<sup>773</sup> ‘Mrss. Galarza and Goycoechea’ are also included among the members of the *Cinco Gremios*, together with the ambassador Campo’s correspondent, Eugenio Llaguno.

The influence of the *Cinco Gremios* was not limited to Madrid, since they kept commissioners in the provinces, such as the Gaditan silk-merchant, collector and Goya’s friend and sitter Sebastián Martínez.<sup>774</sup> Most of Goya’s correspondents in Zaragoza also had commercial links with this institution, representative of the influential role of the Aragonese *camarilla* or lobby in the Court.<sup>775</sup> The year before Paret’s commission, the Banco de San Carlos was created under the direction of Jovellanos’s Aragonese friend Francisco Cabarrús. Goya was in charge of portraying its governors and became one of its shareholders.<sup>776</sup>

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<sup>772</sup> . Capella, M. and Matilla Tascón, A. *Los Cinco Gremios Mayores de Madrid. Estudio crítico-histórico*. Madrid, 1957, pp. 398-399.

<sup>773</sup> . ‘Sres. Galarza y Goycoechea: Su comercio es de géneros de quincalla, y concurre á algunas ferias, extendiéndose á otros artículos’ (*Almanack*, op. cit., p. 223).

<sup>774</sup> . Sebastián Martínez’s library included copies of the works on commerce and political economy by Campomanes, Arriquibar, Larruga, Foronda, Arteta, Adam Smith and Ferguson mentioned in the four preceding chapters (García-Baquero González, A. *Libro y cultura burguesa en Cádiz: la biblioteca de Sebastián Martínez*. Cádiz: Fundación Municipal de Cultura, 1988, pp. 46-51).

<sup>775</sup> . Williams, G. A. *Goya and the impossible revolution*. London: Allen Lane, 1976, p. 30.

<sup>776</sup> . ‘On the advice of some friends of mine in Madrid, I have taken fifteen shares in the national bank; I shall probably buy twenty-five, as long as my money doesn’t disappear into thin air, as unfortunately it tends to do in this world’ (letter from Goya to Zapater, 03/11/1784, in Symmons, op. cit., 2004, p. 153).

How did Paret's and Goya's involvement in these institutions affect their search for a market? Paret's work for the *Cinco Gremios* was associated by the anonymous author of the *Descripción de los ornatos públicos con que la corte de Madrid ha solemnizado la feliz exaltación al trono de los reyes* with the dubious 'credit' of tradesmen. The writer's irony was addressed against the excess, the French influence and the faked luxury of the ephemeral materials decorating the building that provided the major Spanish guild with a physical presence in Madrid:

Let's say only that, in matters of fine arts, the judgement of the professionals must be accepted without either debate or objection, in the same way that tradesmen have the right to be trusted with absolute faith when involved in a commercial speculation.<sup>777</sup>

Paret's 1767 *Masqued Ball* can also be connected with the *Cinco Gremios* (fig. 17). This commercial institution, whose prerogatives were at risk due to the attitude of the Bourbon government towards the system of guilds, invested large amounts in their public image.<sup>778</sup> Donations to a number of charities were completed with ostentatious displays in processions and parades. More specifically, the *Cinco Gremios* organised masquerades to celebrate public events connected with the royal family.<sup>779</sup> Despite their associations with deceptive and disorderly behaviour, masquerades were not necessarily negative when restricted to 'the people who do not need to work', as Jovellanos writes in his *Memoria*.<sup>780</sup> In the *Trinket Shop*, two masques can be seen hanging over the female customer among the shiny fabrics

<sup>777</sup> . 'Diremos que de la misma suerte que en una especulación de comercio tienen derecho a ser creídos con entera fe los comerciantes, también en materia de Bellas Artes el voto de sus profesores debe creerse sin disputa ni repugnancia' (*Descripción de los ornatos públicos...*, cited in Capella and Matilla, op. cit., 1957, p. 399).

<sup>778</sup> . Andrés Gallego, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>779</sup> . Matilla Tascón, op. cit., p. 395.

stored in the mercer's shop, whose trade was also associated with this powerful guild (fig. 22).

In 1787, the Basque economist Valentín de Foronda wrote a *Letter on the Bank of San Carlos* in order to defend Cabarrús and his newly created bank. Attacks against new economic methods came first from supporters of a system based on the primacy of the land as the main source of wealth. But they were also opposed by the defenders of free trade against any sort of monopoly. One of the main concerns of those involved in these new economic ventures was to get over popular preconceptions and to persuade the public to trust them. Commercial companies, such as the Company of Philippines or the Company of Caracas, had their reputation tainted by the threat of monopoly and by their lack of stability.<sup>781</sup> Goya's concern with the possibility that his investment in shares of the Bank of San Carlos might 'disappear into thin air' exemplifies the mixed reception given to new financial mechanisms and institutions regulating economic transactions in late eighteenth-century Spain.

Goya and Paret worked for and within an emergent commercial society, aware of their double role as producers and consumers. Goya's letters often referred to his purchases of foreign goods, like English boots or carriages. He described in detail his search for a rare fabric for the coat that his friend Zapater had requested from Zaragoza, as well as the material for two dresses for his aunt, emphasising their

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<sup>780</sup> . Jovellanos, op. cit., 1796, p. 411.

<sup>781</sup> . In 1961, Xavier Salas suggested that the painting known as *Junta de la Compañía de Filipinas* (Castres, Musée Goya), dated 1814-1820, could represent instead a meeting of the *Cinco Gremios*, on the grounds of the title recorded in Viñaza's catalogue (Salas, X., 'Goya in Paris', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 104, n° 708, 1962, p. 109).

quality and fashionable cut.<sup>782</sup> He also asked Zapater for advice concerning his investments in new commercial ventures. The depiction of imported goods and of a variety of fabrics and clothing materials contributed to Goya's characterization of fashionable sitters, such as the Duchess of Osuna, connected to the *Sociedad Económica Matritense*. The duchess was portrayed wearing large buttons decorated with colour prints and surrounded by her children, who played with brightly coloured tinplated toys (fig. 88). The painting is dated 1788, when the use of colour prints as accessories to costumes was advertised in the Parisian press.<sup>783</sup> The duchess was thus represented as a fashionable noblewoman and as a virtuous mother, but the image could be also perceived as the depiction of a female consumer of brightly coloured imported trinkets.

As both Sempere and Campomanes observed, fashions contributing to improve Spanish industry and trade were encouraged, despite their inherent 'moral' dangers. But the consumption of foreign goods, such as the buckles, buttons, muslin and toys represented by Goya and mentioned in customs records, was officially banned by the enlightened Bourbon government.<sup>784</sup> Its members, however, had recourse to these signs of sartorial distinction that gave them the appearance of their French or English counterparts. Goya's careful depiction of these goods reinforces the effect of his adoption of the conventions of British portraiture, as noted by Wolf.<sup>785</sup>

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<sup>782</sup> . Letter to Zapater, 23/11/1782, in Symmons, op. cit., 2004, p. 132.

<sup>783</sup> . Grasselli reproduces twelve roundels with landscape designs etched by Gouyot after Pernet (Grasselli, M. M. *Colourful Impressions. The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*. Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 2003, pp. 9 and 19, cat. 72).



In *The Fable of the Bees*, Bernard de Mandeville compares the connection between ‘public virtues’ and ‘private vices’ with the ‘happy deceit’ of painting as the positive outcome of the ‘defect in our sense of sight’ inherent to perception.<sup>786</sup> In the revised version of Defoe’s *The Complete English Tradesman*, advertised in Sancha’s catalogue for 1787, deception materialises in the ‘fitting up’ of shops to attract customers fooled by fashion:

Painting and adorning a shop seems to intimate that the tradesman has a large stock to begin with, or else the world suggests he would not make such a shew ...; but the reputation of having a great stock is ill purchas’d, when half your stock is laid out to make the world believe it; ... in which, by the way, you do no less than barter the *real* stock for the *imaginary*, and give away your *stock* to keep the name of it only.<sup>787</sup>

Painting and gilding contributed to the ‘shop-rhetorick’ described by Defoe. He sanctioned current practices such as the ‘dressing up’ or ‘making up’ of specific goods (some sorts of cloth), which could not enter the marketplace without these finishing touches. Defoe justified these operations by asserting that, only after ‘setting [them] forth for the eye’ goods ‘appear what they really are’.<sup>788</sup> He carefully distinguished them, however, from those practices aimed at hiding defects or at dazzling the ‘ignorant buyer’ by means of flattery or of dramatic light and surface effects:

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<sup>784</sup> . ‘Arancel general de Aduanas, en el que se comprehenden... los ocho recopilados en el año de 82 para los géneros extranjeros: los dos del libre comercio del de 78...’ in *Almanack*, op. cit., pp. 1-194. For imports and exports between 1777 and 1779, see PRO, CUST 17/5-9.

<sup>785</sup> . Wolf, op. cit., 1990.

<sup>786</sup> . Mandeville, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 375-376.

<sup>787</sup> . Defoe, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 275.

<sup>788</sup> . *Ibid.*, p. 254.

If, by the exuberance of their art, they set the goods in a false light, give them a false gloss, a finer and smoother surface than they really have, in order to deceive the buyer, so far it is a trading fraud.<sup>789</sup>

In Spanish visual culture of this period, the shop embodies the merging and blurring of the real and the imaginary that becomes the site of modern consumption. How is the equation between seeing and consuming represented? In Paret's *The Trinket shop*, two main themes underlay the display of bright coloured goods and customers dressed in silk, lace and velvet (fig. 22). Consumption and luxury are represented as the interplay of desire and display. The attention of all the characters, except the man reading in the background, is focused on the figure of a young woman wearing a white *mantilla*. She is absorbed in the examination of one of the trinkets on sale, oblivious of the intent gaze of the man that opens his purse full of coins to pay for it. Luxury and consumption are here specifically gendered, according to a long tradition of moral writing.<sup>790</sup>

The setting of Paret's work recalls Defoe's description of 'fine shops' fitted with painted or gilded panels, mirrors and lanterns aimed at those who can be 'deluded and imposed upon by outside and tinsel'.<sup>791</sup> Spanish moralists tried to find a compromise between the promotion of trade and the criticism of its effects on customs. In 1788, the author of the *Discourse on the luxury of the ladies* distinguished between the admissible luxury of buildings, furniture, food, gardens, theatres and public spaces and the censurable luxury of women's dresses.<sup>792</sup> The

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<sup>789</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>790</sup> . Carter, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>791</sup> . Defoe, op. cit., p. 277.

<sup>792</sup> . 'No es mi ánimo hablar del luxô en general. La suntuosidad de los edificios, la preciosidad de los muebles, la delicadeza y abundancia de las mesas, y la hermosura y buen gusto de los jardines, paseos

former could be justified in terms of the 'utility' that the production of luxury goods had to redress the balance of imports and exports.<sup>793</sup> Another way of neutralizing the effects of vision as consumption was to call into question the perceptual skills of the beholder. The taste for the kind of goods on display in *The Trinket Shop* corresponds to what the physician Piquer defined in his *Logic* (1771) as 'limited imaginations':

I understand as 'limited imaginations' those fully satisfied with inconsequential things, with which their judgement is occupied considering them as relevant. This can be observed in women and children, whom we see often absorbed in minute things that they consider as big and worthy of their attention. Fashion, manners, accessories and conversation about these same subjects attract their judgement, as games, trifles and pastimes attract children.<sup>794</sup>

The woman in a white *mantilla* is absorbed in the consideration of a laced head-dress decorated with flowers. The children held by the nurse on the right stretches his arm towards the trinket, his attention reclaimed by the same material qualities that appeal to his mother. The perceptual skills of the woman and the child are thus equated. These can be extended to a specific kind of Painting, like the image of the Virgin and Child, probably after Boucher, displayed within an oval gilded frame above. Consumption is the field where what *The Spectator* called the 'unaccountable humour in womankind, of being smitten with everything that is showy and superficial' was evidenced and freely exercised.<sup>795</sup>

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y teatros de diversion ... son articulos que piden particular exâmen, porque habrá muchos cuya utilidad sea innegable' (M.O., op. cit., pp. 18-19).

<sup>793</sup> . 'Los Ingleses y Franceses están sacando de nuestras Islas y posesiones de América inmensos tesoros .... Véase quales son los ramos en que negocian directamente por sí solos, y se conocerá que siendo los de puro luxô, son los que dexan mayor utilidad' (ibid., p. 21).

<sup>794</sup> . Piquer, op. cit., 1771, p. 153 (appendix 3e).

<sup>795</sup> . Cited in Carter, op. cit.

Paret emphasised the staged nature of consumption by means of the *repoussoirs* that frame the foreground of his painting, guiding the spectator's gaze to the central group. Its members could be those deluded 'spectators' identified by Defoe as women and 'fops and fools of the age' who prefer fine shops and fanciful displays.<sup>796</sup> These customers / spectators were classified by Campomanes in order to analyse the criteria for which the goods whose quality he was trying to improve were valued. In his *Discourse*, the minister writes that the taste for consumer goods is determined by 'the position of the people in society, depending on their gender, occupation, class and age'.<sup>797</sup>

The unstable nature of the appearances characterising the marketplace, both as a physical space and as a metaphor of consumer society, resisted the neat classifications and regulations that *ilustrados* like Campomanes were trying to impose. Goya's cartoons reversed the traditional moralising image of the world as a fair by representing it as a marketplace. His cabinet paintings, however, merged both metaphors, as well as their corresponding modes of perception.

Representations of men and women engaged in new forms of consumption became common in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Spain. An analysis of this imagery suggests that painting itself assumed the qualities that made the goods depicted fashionable and, hence, saleable. Advances in printing techniques and optical projections made new forms of reproducibility available, but they also became a 'source of style', as noticed with respect to the camera obscura. They

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<sup>796</sup> . Defoe, op. cit., p. 277.

<sup>797</sup> . Campomanes, op. cit., 1775, p. 4.

diversified practices of seeing, as well as the context for the circulation of images and its audiences.

The ephemeral and mobile nature of images finds a parallel in the shifting nature of fortune, fame and credit. These had been staple topics for moralists long before the eighteenth century, but the accelerated pace imposed by changing forms of consumerism rendered their instability dazzling. A new awareness of the duration of objects appeared when their ‘fashionableness’ took precedence over any other consideration.<sup>798</sup> Campo’s complaints about the lack of duration of ‘experimental’ colouring in British painting could thus be read as associating vanishing pigments with pictures as ephemeral, non-durable commodities. The painter’s invention produced an effect of novelty and lack of permanence similar to that sought after by the manufacturer. Therefore, invention could be construed negatively within the context of nostalgia for the ‘timeless object’, as opposed to the ceaseless succession of images on sale displayed in the streets of modern cities.<sup>799</sup>

The increasing ‘numbers of people who were able to participate’ was another characteristic of eighteenth century consumption.<sup>800</sup> Goya’s popular types hold fans and parasols, wear elaborate hairnets, embroidered stockings, buckles and buttons; they buy and sell flowers, fruits and water; they drink, smoke, gamble and smuggle. Earthenware in *The Crockery Vendor* (fig. 61), shiny fabrics in *The Fair of Madrid* (fig. 8) and tinslated toys in the *Portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Osuna with their children* (fig. 88) are not mere props, but signify goods that articulate the relationships between the figures with which they are associated. Goya’s cartoons

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<sup>798</sup> . McCracken, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>799</sup> . Baudrillard, op.cit., p. 25.

show the liveliness, but also the ambiguity of the relations established within the marketplace.

Even when his figures are removed from urban settings, as in *The Grape Harvest*, production and consumption are still the main themes in Goya's cartoons (fig. 89). The young woman standing with a basket of grapes on her head looks at the spectator with a serious, reflective expression, similar to that of the harvester on the right. The male harvester wearing broad-brimmed hat and the sleeves of his white shirt rolled up is not posing, despite his awareness of external beholder. The difference can be noticed when comparing Goya's harvesters with Boucher's shepherds, whose graceful attitudes and costumes comply with a more idealised view of agricultural work (fig. 90). Goya's harvester, like his companion on the right, has been working bending over the vineyards. His back remains curved when he pauses to look at the elegant group in the foreground. The two harvesters on the right are barely sketched, kept within the blurred margins of Goya's centrifugal composition, and do not conform to the requirements of 'the picturesque': unlike the images of fruit-sellers or flower-sellers in other works of the series, their costumes are neither colourful, nor elaborate. The elegant couple who receives the product of the harvesting and their child remain isolated in the foreground, oblivious to the work carried on in the background.

How did the people react to the complexity of signs and relations perceived in the marketplace in late eighteenth-century Spain? It has often been remarked that, when dealing with the moral and political consequences of conspicuous

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<sup>800</sup>. Ibid., p. 21.

consumption, ‘almost all writers on luxury blamed The People’.<sup>801</sup> But the writings of Spanish *ilustrados* suggest that the ‘people’ ought be patronised and protected against the effects of luxury in order to prevent disorder. The magistrate in charge at the time of the already mentioned *basquiñas* episode was Goya’s sitter Meléndez Valdés, who noticed with concern the frequency with which this kind of public disturbance happened in the 1790s.<sup>802</sup> Meléndez considered that ‘the scandalous luxury that can be seen everywhere’ represented a daily provocation for those sectors of the people of Madrid with limited access to certain goods.<sup>803</sup> As other *ilustrados*, Meléndez saw the shadow of the French Revolution behind any popular demonstration and blamed luxury for turning pacific subjects into a threatening mob.

### *True and false colours*

Goya and Paret belonged to families of craftsmen involved in the production of luxury commodities. Goya’s father worked as a gilder, whereas Paret started his career as a designer of jewellery and married into the Fourdrinier family, whose members traded in upholstery, furniture and other luxury goods.<sup>804</sup> Both painters represented scenes of fairs, markets and shops, where shiny fabrics, mirrors, chandeliers and gilded frames were on display. Their own paintings were subjected to the demands ruling the marketplace they represented, in which perception was conditioned by the effects of accumulation and the confusion of the senses.

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<sup>801</sup> . Sekora, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>802</sup> . Meléndez, ‘Dictamen fiscal en unos expedientes formados á consecuencia de varios alborotos y corridas con ocasion de unas basquiñas moradas’, in op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>803</sup> . Tomlinson, op. cit., 1992, p. 81.

Why did Goya choose tinplate as the support for the small cabinet paintings? Tomlinson notices the 'experimental' character of his choice, whereas Wilson-Bareau explains how this material allows Goya's further exploration of effects of light and shadow.<sup>805</sup> Tinplate was also used in the manufacture of toys and other cheap goods painted in lively colours or to make earthenware and other household equipment more resistant. Studies on the production of tinplate in late eighteenth-century Spain emphasise its role as one of the industries officially promoted to replace imports with national goods.<sup>806</sup>

Symmons suggests the search for more durable materials as a reason for Goya's experiments with tinplate.<sup>807</sup> Durability was also one of the reasons alleged by Wedgwood to justify his own chemical experiments.<sup>808</sup> Moreover, concerns with the duration of new materials used in industrial production, especially of pigments, affected other crafts dependent on chemicals, such as dyeing. The consequences of Reynolds's enthusiastic experiments on the chemical composition of colour were often satirised in the 1780s in terms that recall the dyer's concern with 'true' and 'false' colours.<sup>809</sup> The ambassador Campo might well have had his paintings in mind when he wrote to Llaguno on the current state of British art.<sup>810</sup>

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<sup>804</sup> . Blanco, op. cit., p. 299.

<sup>805</sup> . Wilson-Bareau, op. cit., 1994, p.83.

<sup>806</sup> . Helguera, op. cit., pp. 125-151.

<sup>807</sup> . Symmons, op. cit., 1988, p.12.

<sup>808</sup> . See 'Preface' to Wedgwood, J. *Catalogue de camées, intaglio, médailles, bas-reliefs, bustes et petites statues*. London, 1788.

<sup>809</sup> . Mannings, D. 'Reynolds's Oil Sketches', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 133, no. 1061, 1991, p. 495.

<sup>810</sup> . Letter from Campo to Llaguno, 29/1/1785, AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8157 (appendix 9e).



Anxiety about the durability of the materials used in the production of fashionable goods reflected an increasing uneasiness with the possible effects of 'consumerism'. Durability was also the criteria on which the dyer's distinction between 'true' and 'false' colours was based.<sup>811</sup> Their lack of permanence was associated not only with an imperfect knowledge of the craft, but also with unscrupulous practices.<sup>812</sup> Satires of contemporary fashions often contrasted the brightness of new gowns on display in shop-windows with their faded appearance just after being purchased.<sup>813</sup> Manuals on dyeing warned the shopper not to trust his or her eyes, since 'the false colours are generally the most bright and lively'.<sup>814</sup> The brilliance of 'false' colours became associated with the marketplace, where change was the only constant and nothing was permanent or reliable.

Representations of markets and fairs are characterised by their theatrical treatment during the last three decades of the century. What they staged, however, was not only conspicuous consumption as denounced in contemporary pamphlets, but also the acts of seeing associated with the display of saleable goods. Merchandise and customers were similarly exposed to the spectator's sight. Seeing appeared as another way of consuming, since the role of the spectator was redefined as that of a potential or actual customer. The goods on display and the paintings and prints where they were represented shared a similar status as spectacle and as luxury commodities. Their value resided in their novelty and invention, in the materials of which they were made as much as in the subjects represented.

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<sup>811</sup> . 'Wool may be dyed either true or false. The first is done by using such drugs or ingredients, as to produce a colour so permanent, that it is neither affected by the air, nor liable to spot; the false colour, on the contrary, soon fades' (Macquer, op. cit., 1789, p. 12).

<sup>812</sup> . Fernández, op. cit., p. 205.

<sup>813</sup> . *La Nada entre Dos Platos. Primera (segunda) carta á la bergamota, que escribia Clori... á su amiga Lisi*. Madrid, [c.1780].

The anonymous pamphlet titled *Nothing between two dishes* published in Madrid about 1780 was a satire on conspicuous consumption and on the extravagance of contemporary fashions. Its descriptions of the interiors of shops and of goods and materials on display in their windows and showcases revealed a widespread fascination with the glittering appearance of luxury commodities, to which the satirist himself or herself is not insensitive:

We must open a magnificent shop in the street of La Montera .... It will be held in the air by the winged support of feathers, gauze, lace, ribbons and taffeta strengthened with golden bars. This hall *almagacénico* will be covered with large fine mirrors, where colossal deforming fashions will be displayed in full; alternating with wonderful cupboards, painted like Raphael's *loggias*. They will be decorated with medallions representing Roman emperors, their mouths holding the handles of drawers full of those infinite, fashionable, variable trifles that seduce the fair female sex.<sup>815</sup>

This description of an imaginary shop in the Calle de la Montera recalls contemporary accounts of the Parisian *magasins anglaises*, which became representative of an unprecedented expansion of the luxury trade in the 1780s.<sup>816</sup> The reproduction of classical imagery ('Roman emperors') and of examples of the 'ideal style' ('Raphael's *loggias*') as mere ornamentation would subvert established aesthetic categories and exemplified the corrupted, indiscriminating taste of the 'fair female sex'. This subversion and the disorder resulting from the circulation of images severed from their original medium were also the consequence of their display as objects of consumption. Marketable novelty was a quality achieved by

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<sup>814</sup> . Macquer, op. cit., 1789, p. 12.

<sup>815</sup> . *La Nada entre dos platos*, op. cit., p. 19 (appendix 8a).

<sup>816</sup> . Sargentson, C. *Merchants and Luxury Markets. The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996.

means of the choice of unusual materials and the unconventional reuse of traditional imagery. Moreover, novelty was the effect produced in the 'satiated' senses of the modern subject, whose perception ought to be adjusted to the increasing degree of visual stimulation provided by bright effects of light and colour.<sup>817</sup>

### 3. Patterns of consumption.

#### *Framing the market*

The debate on the benefits and evils of trade, luxury and consumption found a lively forum in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios Literarios que se publican en Europa*, a periodical publication that appeared in Madrid between 1787 and 1794. It was published every two days with the declared aim of reproducing abstracts from a heterogeneous range of the 'best' works published in Europe. Sometimes these were merely reviews written by 'foreign' correspondents, such as Henry Maty, whom the ambassador Campo mentions in his letters to Llaguno as willing to take part in 'a sort of correspondence... for the mutual communication of literary news and exchange of books'.<sup>818</sup> Campo introduced Maty to Llaguno as 'director of the museum and an excellent person', who had been recommended to him by the former British ambassador in Spain Lord Grantham. The public outcome of this correspondence

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<sup>817</sup> . Ndalianis, A. *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 2004.

was Maty's collaboration with the *Espíritu*, where he published pieces like the 'Letter from Mr. Henrique Maty on the History of Literature by the Abbé André'.<sup>819</sup>

The large number of reviews of British works, 'London news', anecdotes and gossip taken from English papers and heterogeneous articles on commerce, arts and sciences included in the *Espíritu* were possibly due to Maty's correspondence. This periodical was addressed to an educated urban audience that could be identified with the lower gentry, whose occupations had diversified to include commerce due to their lack of property. Women also appeared as an object of interest to the publisher, either as readers or as the subject of articles devoted to female education, breast-feeding, luxury and the benefits of matrimony. These intended readers were the members of an emergent elite modelled on a notion of 'politeness' imported through foreign (and earlier) publications, such as *The Spectator*.<sup>820</sup>

'Reflections on the benefits that trade provides to the State' as those published in the pages of the *Espíritu* in February 1788 belonged not only to another country, but also to a different, earlier period.<sup>821</sup> In the original article reproduced in Cladera's periodical, the excitement and the confusion of the London Exchange were positively perceived by the overwhelmed observer, filled with awe and national pride. By the late 1780s, however, the attitude of the Spanish reviewer was more ambivalent: the *Spectator* piece shared the pages of the *Espíritu* with diatribes against the effects of luxury and conspicuous consumption. Addison and Steele could

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<sup>818</sup> . Letter from Campo to Llaguno, 06/ 05 / 1784, AGS Secc Estado, leg. 8157 (appendix 9f).

<sup>819</sup> . 'Carta de Mr. Henrique Maty sobre la Historia Literaria del Abate Andrés', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, n° 131, 02 / 06 / 1788, p. 30.

<sup>820</sup> . Raquejo, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>821</sup> . 'Reflexiones sobre las ventajas que resultan del comercio al Estado, sacadas del Espectador inglés', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, n° 96, 11/02/1788, pp. 25-27.

describe public commercial spaces of the early eighteenth-century city as populated by 'a prosperous and happy crowd' which provided the observer with 'an infinite variety of solid and interesting reflections'.<sup>822</sup> Cladera's view of similar public spaces and scenes in Madrid focused on images of corruption and disorder, like 'those vile women... whom we see in troops concurring to the squares, to the spectacles, to the public places'.<sup>823</sup>

In Susan Buck-Morss's reading of Walter Benjamin's *Arcades Project*, a new emphasis on the 'purely representational' value of commodities is associated with the modern city as spectacle that turns objects and crowds on permanent display into fetishes.<sup>824</sup> Benjamin's experience of modern urban life reveals the formation of ways of seeing suitable to the conditions created by a consumer society. However, this visual dimension of consumption cannot be restricted to modernism.<sup>825</sup> Works like Defoe's *The Complete English Tradesman* suggest the possibility of an earlier equation of spectacle and consumption, which also appears as the unifying element of Goya's small cabinet paintings.

Consumption is understood here not as a single act in which the meaning or even the material existence of the good is exhausted. Its definition is broadened to include 'that ever-expanding moment or 'hiatus' between actual production and

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<sup>822</sup> . 'Esta grande escena de negocios me facilita una variedad infinita de sólidas e interesantes reflexiones. Como soy amigo grande de los hombres, mi corazon naturalmente salta de gozo al ver una multitud próspera y feliz' (ibid., pp. 25-26).

<sup>823</sup> . 'Que los Príncipes y Magistrados... manden por fin desaparecer por los diversos medios que pueden esas mugeres viles... que vemos concurrir en tropas a las plazas, los espectáculos, los lugares públicos' ('Medios para propagar los matrimonios', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, n° 145, 08/09/1788, p. 29).

<sup>824</sup> . Buck-Morss, S. *The Dialectics of Seeing. Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1991, p. 82.

<sup>825</sup> . Bermingham, in Bermingham and Brewer, op. cit., p. 3.

consumption ..., which is to say, the moment of circulation and exchange'.<sup>826</sup> Images were thus consumed in optical spectacles and in the shops where they became identified with the process of their transferral among different media and with their reproduction as luxury commodities. Prints on display in shop windows and public places offered a similar example of consumption which did not necessarily involved the purchase of the object. This form of consumption was especially suited to the economic circumstances of the urban audience that publications like the *Espíritu* helped to define –the members of the new elite, but also women.

Sempere's *History of Luxury* associated specific perceptual skills with the refinement and 'feminization' of society that resulted from trade and from conspicuous consumption. The visual and sensuous values highlighted in this and similar writings were thus clearly gendered. They suggest the existence of a 'feminine' mode of perception, to which the shrewd tradesman would appeal. Defoe's *Complete English Tradesman* disapproved of those shopkeepers who assumed that 'the world are to be taken in and deluded and imposed upon by outside and tinsel'.<sup>827</sup> He specified that only 'the women, and they must be the weakest of their sex too' or 'the fops and fools of the age' were sensitive to commercial strategies relying on the appeal of surfaces and appearances. A commercialised cultural sphere that allows women's participation was thus associated with the 'realm of the senses', as opposed to the 'realm of reason' identified with the existing form of public sphere dominated by propertied males.<sup>828</sup>

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<sup>826</sup> . Agnew, J. C. 'Coming up for air: consumer culture in historical perspective', in Brewer, J. and Porter, R. eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 25.

<sup>827</sup> . Defoe, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 277.

<sup>828</sup> . Turner, J. G. 'News from the New Exchange', in Bermingham and Brewer, op. cit., pp. 351-54.

In 1787, the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* reproduced a 'Letter to Miss Serard on the origin and formation of ideas'. The author considered that Condillac's work was the best available explanation of mental processes. However, Condillac's writings were 'too elevated for the fair part of mankind' to which the young female addressee belonged. The digested version published in the *Espíritu* focused on the combined use of the senses to acquire reliable knowledge, thus differing from those accounts that privileged the sense of sight over the others. Its author also notices that 'seeing', 'touching', 'walking' and 'speaking' are learnt in a way similar to traditional 'female' accomplishments such as 'drawing', 'geometry', 'needlework' or 'dancing', setting all of these activities on the same plane.<sup>829</sup>

The *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* also published extracts from Reynolds's 1788 *Discourse*.<sup>830</sup> The reviewer who praised Reynolds's writings for their 'superior genius' and 'sublime ideas' was not the only Spanish reader to hold them in a high opinion. Raquejo observes the importance of Reynolds's explanation of the concept of 'imitation' in this discourse for Jovellanos and other Spanish theoreticians.<sup>831</sup> His rejection of 'mechanic' imitation in the same work does not prevent his praise of a 'scientific' form of imitation, which would be based on the principles of 'experimental philosophy'.

Science, trade and the arts revolved around different forms of consumption and benefited from each other in different ways. Geographical surveys and scientific expeditions provided employment for draughtsmen and printmakers, like the

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<sup>829</sup> . 'Vmd. aprendió á ver, á tocar, á caminar, y á hablar como se aprende el diseño, la geometría, á bordar y á baylar' (*Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, vol. 1, no. 63, 24/11/1787, p. 64).

<sup>830</sup> . *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, no. 106, 06/03/1788.

<sup>831</sup> . Raquejo, op. cit., p. 110.

engraver Manuel Salvador Carmona, who supervised the reproduction of the maps published in the *Atlas Marítimo*.<sup>832</sup> Carmona also designed its frontispiece, where Bourbon regalia, scientific and optical instruments and maps are piled up on a plinth set against a seascape in the background. The preface to the *Atlas* specifies how the work of the surveyors and geographers has benefited from the improvement of printing techniques and of the skills of Spanish printmakers<sup>833</sup>. What was marketed was not only the combination of maps and topographical views aimed at improving commercial routes, but also a specifically trained mode of perception<sup>834</sup>.

The promotion of printmaking undertaken by the Bourbon administration was aimed mostly at reproductive and at 'scientific' or technical prints. The need to make the works of the Spanish school known to the world involved specific practical problems: transferring the 'painterly' effects produced by the 'daubs' that Campo deplored in the works of Spanish painters required the adoption of new techniques. Given the affinity already noticed with the use of colour characterising contemporary British painting, printing techniques fashionable in Britain at the time appeared as a logical option. Mezzotint, stipple, crayon-manner and aquatint were both popular and suited to the demands imposed by the 'manner' of painters such as Goya. They also proved appropriate to reproduce the works of Velázquez: Goya's use of aquatint in his etchings after Velázquez's royal portraits constitutes his first known successful experiment with a technique new in Spain.

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<sup>832</sup> . On Manuel Salvador Carmona, see Carrete Parrondo, J. *Difusión de la ciencia en la España Ilustrada. Estampas de la Real Calcografía*. Madrid: CSIC, 1989.

<sup>833</sup> . Tofiño, V. *Derrotero de las Costas de España en el Océano Atlántico, y de las Islas Azores ó Terceras...* Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Ibarra, 1789, p. xiii.

<sup>834</sup> . Stafford, B.M. *A Voyage into Substance. Art, Science, Nature, and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1984, p. 1-2.



Printmaking was defined by Francisco Martínez in his *Diccionario Manual* as the ‘imitation of the lights and shadows in visible objects’, which Vargas y Ponce also considered as the ‘true aim’ of this art.<sup>835</sup> In his discourse to the Academy of San Fernando in 1790, the director of the *Atlas Marítimo* followed contemporary economic theories to defend the commercial usefulness of printmaking as a branch of national manufactures and trade. The improvement of printing techniques would contribute not only to the production of accurate, reliable maps of commercial routes, but also to the perfection of fashionable commodities.

Campo’s correspondence provides an insight to the pragmatic approach adopted by the Spanish government in their projects for the promotion of the arts. His views on the subject of their commercialisation appear once more in a letter to Llaguno from in August 1785. Anticipating Moratín’s opinion on the connection between the technical perfection of British prints and their status as consumer goods, Campo asserts that ‘this branch [Painting] is very backward in this country, which only excels in Printmaking’.<sup>836</sup> The Marquis of Ureña drew similar conclusions from his visit to London workshops and showrooms in 1787-1788.<sup>837</sup> Campo and Llaguno encouraged the adoption by Spanish printmakers and their publishers of the commercial model that they perceive as characteristic of the British print market. In a letter dated in February 1784, Campo referred to two ‘rolls’ with English prints sent to Madrid by the former ambassador lord Grantham. The first roll contained twelve

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<sup>835</sup> . ‘Defínese el *grabado* [como] un Arte que por medio del diseño y de la incisión en las materias duras, imita las luces y las sombras de los objetos visibles’ (Martínez, op. cit., p. 207). See also Vargas y Ponce, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>836</sup> . ‘Vivan los discípulos de Mengs. Aquí están muy atrasados en este Ramo y solo el gravado [sic] sobresale’ (Letter from Campo to Llaguno, 26/08/1785. AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8157). On Moratín, see Symmons, S. ‘A new people and a limited society’. *British Art and the Spanish Spectator*, in Payne, C. and Vaughan, W., eds. *English Accents. Interactions with British Art c. 1776-1855*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 101-117.

prints representing Prince Baltasar Carlos and it was addressed to the bookseller Antonio Sancha:

One of the rolls contains twelve prints of the Prince Don Baltasar and they are a present that Lord Grantham sends to Don Antonio Sancha, so that he can sell them for his own benefit. It might be necessary to suggest to him the price that he might ask for them: in London, they would be sold at least for a half guinea.<sup>838</sup>

The *Portrait of Baltasar Carlos on Horseback* appears in the list of prints acquired by the Duchess of Osuna from Gabriel Sancha in 1787.<sup>839</sup> Three portraits of the prince and three portraits of lord Grantham were sent to the Count of Floridablanca, to Eugenio Llaguno and to Antonio Ponz in the second roll. In March, Llaguno wrote to Campo confirming that the prints arrived and asking him to thank Grantham for the present.<sup>840</sup> Grantham's print after Velázquez might have been the mezzotint published by Richard Earlom in London in 1784 (fig. 91).<sup>841</sup> Apart from his mezzotints after Old Masters, Earlom also reproduced Joseph Wright of Derby's paintings, published by Josiah Boydell.<sup>842</sup> Some of these appear recorded in the collection of the Biblioteca Nacional and they might have reached Spain as a part of Boydell's continental exports.<sup>843</sup>

<sup>837</sup> . Pemán, M. 'Estampas y libros que vió Goya en casa de Sebastián Martínez', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 65, no. 259-260, 1992, p. 307.

<sup>838</sup> . 'Un Rollo contiene doce Estampas del Ynfante D.n Baltasar y son un regalo que envia Milord Grantham a D.n Antonio Sancha para que las venda de su propia cuenta. Conbendrá indicarle el precio a que puede venderlas: En Londres lo menos que se pagará por cada una es media guinea' (AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8157).

<sup>839</sup> . Wolf, op. cit. 1990, pp. 40-41.

<sup>840</sup> . Llaguno to Campo, 29/3/1784, AGS Secc. Estado, leg. 8157.

<sup>841</sup> . I am grateful to Enriqueta Frankfort and to Nigel Glendinning for this reference.

<sup>842</sup> . Griffiths, A. *Prints and Printmaking*. London: The British Museum, 1980, p. 89.

<sup>843</sup> . Wolf, op. cit., 1991, p. 11.

Mezzotint and aquatint allowed painterly effects and generalising, 'picturesque' compositions, more akin to fashionable taste than the drier lineal works produced by Spanish engravers of this period. Campo's instructions to Sancha suggest that there was a market in Madrid for examples of printing techniques that were not practised in Spain. These techniques seemed to be better adapted to the reproduction of the characteristics of the 'natural' style. The shortcomings of Spanish printmakers proved to be not only technical, but also commercial and the *ilustrados* were aware of this. Thus, in 1783, Llaguno had tried to find a market in London for Carmona's prints through Campo:

I send you four copies of the portrait of the king engraved by Carmona, after my suggestion. I think it must be appreciated among *connoisseurs* there, as it has happened here, especially by the king, whose taste in these matters is better than anybody's; hence he has appointed Carmona engraver to the King, a vacancy that had not been filled since Palomino's death ... It is said that this sort of thing is valued and saleable in London, as long as they are excellent, as it is the case with this portrait. Let me know whether there is any bookseller or printseller who might wish to sell fifty or one hundred impressions, at the price that is usual there ... If so, I will send them to you and we will do this favour to poor Carmona, who does not understand a thing of trading'.<sup>844</sup>

Carmona's engravings might have looked unfashionable in comparison with the prints that were published in London at the time. Goya's etchings after Velázquez's portraits in 1778 show the adaptation of the technique to the effects of light and shadow, to aerial perspective and to the 'sketchiness' of the 'natural' style. They reached England through Grantham and were praised by Reynolds.<sup>845</sup> They also appear in the catalogue of the collection of prints and books of Reynolds's

<sup>844</sup> . Llaguno to Campo, 3/1/1783, AGS Secc. Estado, leg. 8157 (appendix 9g).

<sup>845</sup> . Glendinning, Harris and Russell, op. cit., p. 601.

friend and sitter, Charles Rogers, published in 1799.<sup>846</sup> Under the heading 'Various Portraits' and among works after Van Dyck or Liotard, 'Felipe III of Spain and his Queen', 'Felipe IV and his Queen and the Conde Duque de Olivares all in horseback, by Goya, after Velasquez' and '4 by Goya, after Velasquez – Esop, Moenippus, &c.' are listed.<sup>847</sup> Wilson-Bareau has suggested that the search for a generalising effect in his prints, paintings and drawings can explain Goya's experiments with different techniques in the 1790s.<sup>848</sup> Earlom's mezzotint, however, evidences how some printing techniques were better adapted than others to the reproduction of these qualities.

In 1773, Peter Perez Burdett described his 'aquatint recipe' to the Society of Arts as 'the effect of a stained drawing attempted by printing from a plate wrought chemically, without the use of any instrument or sculpture'.<sup>849</sup> Burdett, who was connected to the Lunar Society and to the painter Joseph Wright of Derby, has been credited with the introduction of this technique in England.<sup>850</sup> His experiments would then precede Paul Sandby's works in this medium. Samples of Sandby's aquatints appear in Antonio de Sanchas's catalogue in Madrid as early as 1787. But ten years before, in 1777, Ceán Bermúdez already referred to the new technique in connection with James Barry's works.<sup>851</sup> Charles III's agent in Britain, the scientist Magellan, had links with the Lunar Society, of which Perez Burdett was also an associate. In his

<sup>846</sup> . On Charles Rogers, see Griffiths, A. 'The Rogers Collection in the Cottonian Library, Plymouth', in *Print Quarterly*, vol. 10, n° 1, 1993, pp. 19-36.

<sup>847</sup> . Philipe, T. *Catalogue of the Capital and Extensive Collection of Prints, and Books of Prints, of Charles Rogers*. London, 1799, nos. 94, 95, p. 113.

<sup>848</sup> . Wilson-Bareau, op. cit., 1994, p. 84.

<sup>849</sup> . Egerton, J. *Wright of Derby*. London: Tate Gallery, 1990, p. 89. Burdett also sent a proposal to Wedgwood on his method to transfer 'acquainted designs' to pottery by means of a new 'chemical process' (ibid., p. 90).

<sup>850</sup> . Griffiths, A. 'Notes on early aquatint in England and France', in *Print Quarterly*, vol. iv, n° 3 1987, p. 263.

<sup>851</sup> . Wolf, op. cit., 1991, p. 122.

autobiography published in 1807, Priestley refers to Magellan as a 'member of and attendant on almost all the philosophical Clubs and Meetings in London'.<sup>852</sup>

Within the bleak picture of emergent consumerism provided by eighteenth-century satirists, the dark aspects of novelty were often highlighted. Novelty was an essential element of what McKendrick calls 'persuasive commercial propaganda'.<sup>853</sup> Manufacturers were well aware of the need to cater for a compulsion to change that necessarily affected both the design and the mode of production of consumer goods. Sureda's technical illustrations for the Cabinet of Machines were thus praised not only because of their accuracy and of the practical knowledge that they conveyed, but also because of the novelty of the 'method' of printmaking he chose.<sup>854</sup> When introducing this series of plates to the reader, the author of the catalogue Juan López Peñalver noticed the difference between Sureda's technique 'in the English style' and Le Prince's, closer to the effect of chalk drawings.<sup>855</sup> Sureda's patron Agustín de Betancourt also described the new technique to the Academy of San Fernando as 'imitating Indian ink wash', thus clarifying its distinctive character with respect to crayon-manner prints.

Why did Goya experiment with aquatint at the time of producing his *Caprichos*? Aquatint and mezzotint were fashionable novelties associated with foreign imports. Moreover, they were better adapted than etching to the painterly nature and to the 'sketchy' manner of the Spanish school. The textural effects achieved in his aquatints were better suited to register the difference between areas of

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<sup>852</sup> . Priestley, op. cit., 1807, p. 73.

<sup>853</sup> . McKendrick, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

<sup>854</sup> . Carrete, op. cit., 1989, p. 309.

<sup>855</sup> . Ibid., p. 309.

distinct and indistinct vision. Goya's study on the modification of colour in his cartoons could thus be transposed to his monochrome works on paper. The adoption of new printing techniques therefore served both commercial and theoretical demands by contributing to the successful marketing of the 'natural style'.

*'A good draughtsman, chemist, and a capital thief': Sureda, Luzuriaga and Gimbernat in London*

Goya's portraits of Bartolomé Sureda and of his wife Thérèse Louise Chapronde (Washington D.C., National Gallery) were painted in 1803-1804, during the period in which Sureda was in charge of the Madrid porcelain factory of El Buen Retiro (fig. 92).<sup>856</sup> Official reports praise Sureda's knowledge of applied chemistry, which he acquired during his travels in England and France.<sup>857</sup> His name has often been connected with Goya's early interest in lithography, but there are reasons to believe that his influence also contributed to Goya's earlier experiments with aquatint.<sup>858</sup>

Bartolomé Sureda was sent to London at least twice to study the British system of industry, first in the mid-1780s and again in the early 1790s. Sureda's trips are not well documented, although Campo's correspondence refers to the arrival of

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<sup>856</sup> . On Bartolomé Sureda (1767-1851), see, Tudá Rodríguez, I., ed. *Bartolomé Sureda (1769-1851). Arte e Industria en la Ilustración Tardía*. Madrid: Museo Municipal, 2000.

<sup>857</sup> . Pérez Villaamil, M. *Artes e Industrias del Buen Retiro*. Madrid, 1904.

Agustín de Betancourt in London in 1785.<sup>859</sup> The second trip ended abruptly in October 1796. The declaration of war between Spain and Britain forced the Spanish ambassador Simón de las Casas to intercede and provide Sureda and Betancourt with passports to return to Spain.<sup>860</sup>

According to his patron, the engineer Agustín de Betancourt, during his first stay in London, Sureda took drawing lessons with 'one of the best drawing masters in town'.<sup>861</sup> These lessons were aimed at providing the Spanish draughtsman, already trained at the Academy of San Fernando, with the technical skills required to reproduce the machinery and industrial equipment observed during his trips. Sureda was probably the young foreigner who visited Matthew Boulton's premises in Birmingham in the early 1790s. Boulton referred to the foreign visitor as the secretary of 'Mr Bettincour', who was accompanied by Dumergue and by 'the son of Breguet, the watchmaker'.<sup>862</sup> The connections of Sureda's wife, Thérèse Louise Chapronde Saint Armand, with the Breguet family would explain his inclusion in this group.<sup>863</sup> In a letter to Joseph Banks, Boulton hinted at his visitor's possible activities as an 'industrial spy' and described him as 'a good draughtsman, chemist, and a capital thief'.<sup>864</sup>

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<sup>858</sup> . Vega, J. *Origen de la litografía en España. El Real Establecimiento Litográfico*. Madrid: Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre, 1990, p. 44. Symmons suggests that Goya learning of aquatint could have happened in Italy (Symmons, S. 'Goya's plates', in *Print Quarterly*, vol. 9, nº2, 1994, p. 185).

<sup>859</sup> . Letter from Campo to the Count of Aranda, 24/5/1785, AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8157.

<sup>860</sup> . Letter from Simón de las Casas to Lord Grenville, 4/10/1796, AGS, Sec. Estado, leg. 8150.

<sup>861</sup> . Rumeu, A. *Ciencia y Tecnología en la España Ilustrada*. Madrid: Turner, 1980, p. 180.

<sup>862</sup> . See *Industrial Revolution. A Documentary History. Series One*. Malborough: Adam Matthews Publications, 1993, p.196.

<sup>863</sup> . On Thérèse Chapronde, see Luna, J. J. *Goya. 250 Aniversario*. Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1996, p. 394.

<sup>864</sup> . 'My old friend Dumergue brought two gentlemen to my house, one the son of Breguet, the watchmaker, but the other, who was not distinctly announced, looked at everything I did not wish him to see... mr George Watt... informed me that he knew the second person at Paris and that he was a spy by profession, a native of Corsica, and had travelled with Mr Bettincour, as his secretary, being a good draughtsman, chemist, and a capital thief' (*Industrial Revolution*, op. cit. p. 196). Sureda was born in Mallorca -Boulton's reference to 'Corsica' might be a mistake.

Sureda's images of pumps and engines, presented to the Academy of San Fernando by Betancourt, were printed in aquatint and included figures of men at work and some elements of landscape. Betancourt probably judged that the latest printing techniques available in London were better suited than traditional engraving to Sureda's 'mission'. Aquatint would allow a faithful reproduction of his drawings and sketches hurriedly made on the spot in ink, pen and wash. His illustrations for Juan López de Peñalver's *Descripción de las máquinas... que hay en el Real Gabinete... en el Buen Retiro* (Madrid, 1798) are described as aquatints and qualified as '*de aguada*'.<sup>865</sup> In his prologue to the plates, Peñalver specified that Sureda's technique was different from that discovered by Le Prince and that he had learnt it in London.<sup>866</sup> Prints 'in the English manner' were associated with sketchiness and painterly effects: in Francisco Martínez's 'dictionary of fine arts', published in 1788, the entry for '*grabado al diseño*' emphasises its connection with drawing and its 'English' origins:

This category of prints emulates the handling of the pencil to the point of deceiving sight. This method was first known in England, where it was used for designing ornaments; it was adopted in France in 1757. In this technique, the texture and the flow of the pencil is imitated with such perfection that the print will be believed to be the drawing itself.<sup>867</sup>

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<sup>865</sup> . Carrete, op. cit., 1989, p. 309.

<sup>866</sup> . 'It is tempting to speculate that Sureda taught Goya the aquatint technique that he had learned in England' (Wolf, op. cit., 1991, p. 122).

<sup>867</sup> . 'Es una especie de grabado que imita el manejo del lapiz en tanto grado, que la vista se engaña. Este modo de grabar fue conocido primero en Inglaterra, y se servian de el para hacer adornos; y en Francia lo adoptaron en el año 1757. Hallábase en este gusto de grabado el grano y la flor del lapiz, con tanta perfeccion imitado, que se cree ver en la estampa el diseño mismo del qual esta grabada' (Martínez, op. cit., 1788, p. 219).



How, when and with whom did Sureda learn to aquatint? A view of Kensington Gardens etched and aquatinted by H. Schulzt after Sureda was published by Rudolph Ackermann in 1796 (fig. 93).<sup>868</sup> The print shows the generalised, sketched and 'blotted' treatment of landscape fashionable in Britain in the 1780s, which was also characteristic of Sureda's works after his return to Spain. Though there is no other proof of their association, Sureda might have worked for Ackermann occasionally while studying in London.<sup>869</sup> Ackermann might even be the drawing master to whom Betancourt alluded, since training was provided in his premises in the 1780s.<sup>870</sup> Among the samples of the range of printing techniques learnt by his assistant, Betancourt showed to the Academy 'a picture of a new method of painting on glass', which could refer to the transparencies or translucent images used in optical shows.<sup>871</sup>

In London, Sureda could have met Carlos Gimbernat, with whom he travelled to Germany to learn lithography in the early nineteenth century. Gimbernat was recommended to Sir Joseph Banks in 1791 by the French botanist Broussonet. It might have been through the former that he knew the earliest aquatints produced by Peter Perez Burdett and Paul Sandby.<sup>872</sup> Gimbernat also appears mentioned in Moratín's diaries as his companion in the latter's frequent visits to the British Museum 'to see the rhinoceros', to the shops in the Strand, to the theatre and to other

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<sup>868</sup> . Ford, J. *Ackermann, 1783-1798. The business of art*. London: Ackermann, 1983, p. 22.

<sup>869</sup> . Jesusa Vega also suggests that Sureda might have learned to etch in aquatint with Ackermann (Vega, op. cit., 2000, p. 178).

<sup>870</sup> . Ford, op. cit.

<sup>871</sup> . Wolf, op. cit., 1998, p. 120. Significantly, Sureda's early experiments with lithography submitted to the Madrid Academy in the 1810s were images of women very similar to Ackermann's fashion plates.

<sup>872</sup> . Dawson, op. cit., p. 187.

popular spectacles, such as the magic lantern, the Shakespeare gallery or the 'polygraphic paintings'.<sup>873</sup>

The Polygraphic Society exhibited several paintings by Joseph Wright of Derby in the 1790s. Wright's dramatic effects of light in his candlelit scenes could have been known in Spain through Valentine Green's mezzotints, mentioned by Vargas y Ponce, who also referred to Boydell and John Raphael Smith.<sup>874</sup> Works such as Wright's *Hermit* can be associated with Paret's exploration of the contrast between moonlight and artificial light in paintings like his *Diogenes* (1778, Madrid, Real Academia). The polygraphic paintings seen by Moratín and Gimbernát were 'very large transfer-printed aquatints, printed from several plates, applied to canvas, finished by hand and varnished to look deceptively like oil-paintings'.<sup>875</sup> Egerton describes them as 'a cheap alternative' to paintings, which might have found its main market abroad. Previous experiments had been made in the 1770s, when Boulton & Fothergill reproduced Wright's *The Forge*, thus evidencing the interest of some members of the Lunar Society in the mechanical reproduction and transferral of images.<sup>876</sup>

The deceptive appearance of polygraphic or 'mechanical paintings' and their production independent from the painter relegated them to the category of an urban spectacle, thus exemplifying all the problematic issues posed by the presence of images in the marketplace. Optical instruments become the means to multiply images and, in this respect, they performed a role similar to that of reproductive printmaking.

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<sup>873</sup> . Andioc, op. cit., 1968, p. 92-95.

<sup>874</sup> . Vargas y Ponce, op. cit., 1790, p. 76

<sup>875</sup> . Egerton, op. cit., 1990, pp. 90-91.

<sup>876</sup> . Ibid.

The status of lenses and sophisticated machines as luxury commodities contributed to classify their potential audience indirectly. But when taken outside the cabinet of the enlightened observer, the profusion and the circulation of images in the fair and in the marketplace became more problematic.

The official encouragement and commercial success encountered by techniques such as mezzotint, aquatint and stipple in Spain can be attributed to the affinity between the 'pictorial' effects they produced and the 'naturalist' use of colour considered as characteristic of the Spanish school. Colour –and coloured– prints allowed multiple copies of paintings which were more faithful, and hence, more deceitful, than etchings and engravings. They were considered as fashionable pieces of furniture serving the desire for emulation of those who could not afford the paintings for which they became relatively cheap substitutes. While in London, the marquis of Ureña visited the 'Gallery of Prints and Reproductions' in the Strand. He described this 'new manufactory whose productions are displayed under the name of Polyerest Exhibition' as singular for its 'copies of oil paintings':

For six or eight guineas you can obtain a deceitful copy of any painting worth fifty or seventy guineas, but the result is not fit to be appreciated by *connoisseurs*. Their brushstrokes lack any taste and show anything but blots in their place. The effect is similar, although resembling wallpaper. The copies are printed on canvas. Although their method is kept as a secret and the factory is outside London, I imagine that it consists of a printing process similar to that used in the copy and production in colours of flowers in wallpaper and printed fabrics.<sup>877</sup>

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<sup>877</sup> . 'La nueva manufactura cuyas obras se ven con el título de [Polyerest Exhibition] en Strand, cerca de Temple Bath, es singular por el objeto que ha logrado de copiar los cuadros al óleo y dan por 6 u 8 guineas una copia que alucina de un cuadro que no se vende por 50 o 70, pero no es obra para ser reconocida por inteligentes; falta en ella el gusto del manejo del pincel y no se ven sino manchas puestas en su lugar, que hacen el efecto pero resintiéndose del gusto de los papeles pintados. Las copias se hacen sobre lienzo al óleo y aunque reservan el procedimiento y la fábrica está fuera de

Optics, painting, printmaking, weaving and dyeing, all converged in Jacob Christoph Le Blon's reflections on light and colour under the title *Coloritto*.<sup>878</sup> This brief book was originally published in English in London around the mid-1720s. A later version titled *An account of Mr. James-Christopher Le Blon's Principles of Printing in Imitation of Painting and of Weaving Tapestry, in the same manner as Brocades* appeared in 1731. In the dedication of his work to Robert Walpole, Le Blon, born in Frankfurt but based in Paris and London in different periods of his life, emphasised the usefulness of his method for printing scientific illustrations. He presented himself as an 'inventor' and referred to the anatomical plates that he had prepared under the direction of 'the King's Anatomist, Mr André'.<sup>879</sup> Le Blon's 'method' is described by Manuel Rueda in his *Instructions for engraving in copper and using burin, etching and mezzotint, including the new method for printing in colours imitating Painting* (Madrid, 1761):

This technique derives from the principles established by *Blon* in a treatise on colour; persuaded that the mode of colouring of great Masters like *Titian*, *Rubens*, *Van Dyck*, &c. was invariable, [Le Blon] decided to reduce the principles regulating the harmony of colours to the easy and certain rules of a mechanical practice.<sup>880</sup>

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Londres, imagino que es un estampado que camina por los mismos trámites que para copiar y ejecutar en colores las flores de papeles y lienzos pintados' (Pemán, op. cit., 1992, pp. 339-340).

<sup>878</sup> . Faber Birken, ed., '*Coloritto*' by J.C. Le Blon, 1667-1741, facs., New York, 1980.

<sup>879</sup> . Ibid., p. xx.

<sup>880</sup> . 'Los efectos de este genero de gravado son las consecuencias de los principios que *Blon* estableció en un tratado del colorido; quien persuadido á que los grandes Pintores, como el *Ticiano*, *Rubenes*, *Badeyck* [sic], &c. tenían una manera invariable de colorear, emprendió establecer en principios la armonía de colores, y reducirla á práctica mecanica por reglas faciles, y seguras' (Rueda, M. *Intrucción para gravar en cobre, y perfeccionarse en el gravado á buril, al aguafuerte y*

‘Multiple-plate colour printing processes’ such as colour mezzotint, aquatint or chalk manner, intensified ‘the mimetic potential of printmaking’.<sup>881</sup> Their usefulness in the study of medicine and natural history were an example of this. The verisimilitude of the resulting copy succeeded in deceiving the eye, thus concealing the ‘mechanical’ (re)production of the image. The rationalisation of this process in manuals like Le Blon’s suggested the possibility of reducing ‘colouring’ to ‘scientific’ rules. Thus when Rueda explained Le Blon’s method in terms of Newtonian optics, the way the printmaker combines his coloured plates reveals the ‘mechanics of colour’ at work in any painting:

In his search for the rules of colouring... [Le Blon] established that Painting can represent any visible object by means of three colours: yellow, blue and red... the different combinations of the three primary colours produce every colour imagined, whereas their mixture produces darkness. This applies to ‘material’ colours, since the combination of the primitive colours contained in the rays of sunlight, which this inventor calls ‘intangible’, produces their opposite, which is white, as demonstrated by Newton in his Treatise on Optics, because they result in a concentration or excess of light, whereas black is a negation or lack.<sup>882</sup>

Le Blon’s ‘multiple-plate’ printing method involved using a separate mezzotint plate for each primary colour.<sup>883</sup> His application of Newtonian principles to colour printmaking was based on the same assumptions on the mechanisms of

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*al humo, con el nuevo methodo de gravar las planchas para estampar en colores, á imitación de la Pintura*. Madrid, 1761, p. 168).

<sup>881</sup> . Smentek, K. ‘An Exact Imitation Acquired at Little Expense’: Marketing Colour Prints in Eighteenth-Century France’, in Grasselli, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>882</sup> . ‘Buscando éste las reglas del colorido... [estableció] que la pintura puede representar todos los objetos visibles con tres colores: á saber, el amarillo, azul y roxo... ; y las diferentes mezclas de los tres colores primitivos producen todos los matices imaginables, y su reunion el obscuro: lo que se entiende de los colores materiales, porque la mezcla de los colores primitivos, contenidos en los rayos del Sol, que el inventor llama impalpables, producen su contrario, que es el blanco, como el Newton lo demuestra en su Tratado de Optica, porque este es una concentracion, ó exceso de luz, y el negro, una privacion, ó defecto’ (Rueda, op. cit., p. 169-70).

<sup>883</sup> . See Griffiths, op. cit., 1980, p. 119.

vision that regulated the use of colour in weaving. Le Blon made the connection himself when patenting 'a process of reproducing pictures in tapestry' in London in 1727.<sup>884</sup> But as Antony Griffiths notices, Le Blon's method failed to acknowledge 'the impossibility of separating out the colours by eye'.<sup>885</sup>

Campo was interested in mezzotints and Sureda learned aquatint and, later, lithography in London. Bartolomé Vázquez produced crayon manner prints and stipple under the protection of the Count of Floridablanca. Bartolozzi's works were widely known in Spain: they appear in the list of prints acquired from Sancha by the duchess of Osuna and the *Espíritu* advertised the subscription for his print after Copley's *The Siege of Gibraltar* in 1787.<sup>886</sup> Jovellanos owned at least two landscape drawings by Richard Cooper, who visited Spain in the 1770s and was Alexander Cozens's successor as a drawing master in Eton.<sup>887</sup> Another example of how new printing techniques imported from Britain received in the 1780s official support is the portrait of *Luisa de Borbón princess of Asturias* published in 1786 in London by Young.<sup>888</sup> The anonymous portrait was a stipple 'in the manner of Bartolozzi', of which impressions printed in red and in black ink have been preserved.

Although Copley's work was an example of history painting, stipple and aquatint were techniques often chosen to reproduce either 'picturesque' views or

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<sup>884</sup> . Birren, op. cit., p. viii.

<sup>885</sup> . Griffiths, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>886</sup> . Wolf, op. cit., 1998, pp. 233-243.

<sup>887</sup> . González Santos, op. cit. Cooper's aquatints were published by Boydell in 1778 (Griffiths, op. cit., 1987, p. 268). On Richard Cooper's trips to Spain between 1769 and 1774, see Sancho, J. L., 'Mengs at the Palacio Real, Madrid', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 139, no. 1133, 1997, p. 522. During his stay in Madrid, Cooper copied works belonging to the collection of the Duke of Alba with the intention of reproducing them in a series of prints (see Bull, D. and Harris, E., 'The Companion of Velázquez's *Rockeby Venus* and a Source for Goya's *Naked Maja*', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 128, no. 1002, 1986, p. 646).

<sup>888</sup> . Páez, op. cit., IH 5386.7, p. 177.

mythological scenes like those produced by Maria Cosway and by Angelica Kauffman. The former was known to the Marquis of Ureña, who mentions his visits to her *salon* as one of 'his favourite and most frequent' occupations while in London.<sup>889</sup> Ureña refers to both Mrs. Siddons and Maria Cosway to assert that 'here the ladies' merit also chooses to perpetuate itself by means of prints, preserved even in boxes for biscuits'.<sup>890</sup> Here Ureña uses 'merit' to refer to the looks of the female sitters, but in the case of Maria Cosway the same term and the same association with 'boxes of biscuits' could be applied to her role as producer of art works. A large number of Kauffman's works appear among the prints purchased from Sancha by the Duchess of Osuna in 1787 and 1790. They were reproduced by W. Ryland in stipples usually printed in red or sepia ink. The subjects are vaguely adopted from Classical myths with female protagonists such as Helen, Penelope or Ariadne.<sup>891</sup> But they also include 'moral' subjects, like the female personifications of 'Patience' and 'Perseverance'.

Despite their exemplary subjects, Cosway's and Kauffman's paintings and prints were never considered at the same level as history paintings produced by male artists.<sup>892</sup> Their 'commercial' nature and their identification with a 'popular' taste, as opposed to that of connoisseurs, were noticed in the article on Richard Cumberland's catalogue of paintings in the Spanish royal collection in *The English Review*. The author of the Spanish translation published in the *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios* in May 1789 regretted the lack of prints after the royal paintings in these terms:

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<sup>889</sup> . Pemán, op. cit., 1992, p. 332.

<sup>890</sup> . 'También el mérito de las damas opta aquí por perpetuarse en los grabados y se conservan después hasta en los azafates de los bizcochos' (Pemán, op. cit., 1992, p. 309).

<sup>891</sup> . Wolf, op. cit., p. 241.

Is it possible that the print trade, so much increased during the last few years, has not contributed as much as it should to the formation of a taste for the arts! The artist finds himself in the necessity of working to suit the taste not of individual connoisseurs, but of the general public: he cannot rely on what is best, but on what sells better, and the mass will always prefer the petty monotony of Angela [*sic*] Kauffman to the simple but sublime thoughts of Raphael.<sup>893</sup>

Printing techniques that favoured colour and 'soft' effects, like mezzotint, stipple and aquatint were thus associated with 'feminine' subjects and with a female audience, but also with trivial objects of consumption, such as the 'boxes for biscuits' mentioned by Ureña. Similar painterly effects could be achieved by means of the combination of Goya's handling and his choice of tinplate as the support for his 1794 series. Like the daughter of the Marquis of Villaverde to whom Goya sent his cabinet paintings and the Duchess of Osuna whom he portrayed, women had become prominent among the wealthy customers targeted by painters independent of official patronage. They were a clear example of the double role as both consumers and objects of consumption that rendered the image of the people problematic in Goya's tapestry cartoons.

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<sup>892</sup> . Sheriff, M., 'The im/modesty of her sex', in Bermingham and Brewer, op. cit., p. 467.

<sup>893</sup> . '¿Es posible que el comercio de estampas, que tanto se ha aumentado desde algunos años, no contribuye lo que debiera á formar el gusto á las artes! El artista se ve en la necesidad de trabajar no á gusto de algunos conocedores particulares, sino del público en general: no puede detenerse en lo mejor y sí en lo que vende mejor, y el gran número preferirá siempre la pequeña monotonía de Angela Kauffman á los pensamientos sencillos pero sublimes de Rafael' ('Londres. An accurate &c. Catálogo raciocinado de los quadros que se hallan en el Palacio Real de Madrid y de los del Buen Retiro, por Ricardo Cumberland', in *Espíritu de los Mejores Diarios*, nº 180, 11/05/1789, p. 45).



## Conclusion

Practices of looking connected with the use of optical instruments provide information on the visual regime within which Goya's tapestry cartoons were created. But they also belong to a specific conceptual structure that becomes apparent in the theoretical apparatus explaining the act of seeing. From the camera obscura to the 'artificial eye' described by George Adams, optical instruments not only mediate vision, but they also exemplify its mechanisms and drawbacks.

The last three decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the construction of an image of the Spanish people that would prove resistant to time, social change and criticisms. Goya's tapestry designs complied with the expectations of their enlightened viewers and assumed their determination to know and to control the population to whom their reforms were addressed. However, the subjects represented evidenced the weaknesses of their attempts at classification. Goya offered his royal and aristocratic patrons the picturesque people that they wished to see. But he also provided the people with a form of self-representation with which they found easy to identify themselves.

The reasons for the success of Goya's formula can be found in its versatility and flexibility. His image of the people accommodated the needs of both groups, while assuaging the fears and anxieties created by the social and economic upheavals of this period. This aim was achieved by means of a reorganisation of the field of vision that allowed shifts in the positions of the observer and the observed. The illusion of control over the conditions of perception that the enlightened viewer

derived from his knowledge of optical theories and the use of optical devices was balanced with the illusion of agency retained by the object of these observations.

Illusion was the key word in the theorisation of the natural style with which the Spanish school of painting was identified. But illusion was a twofold notion: it could imply extreme technical virtuosity as well as cunning deception. Goya and Paret had recourse to optical principles to allow the spectator entering the space of the fair, the shop and the marketplace, while remaining detached from their moral dangers and corrupting influences. The artifice involved in the contrivance of this reassuring distance was naturalised by means of the painter's knowledge of contemporary explanations of the physical and psychological mechanisms of perception.

Optical devices and theories functioned as a 'source of style' in the visual culture of late eighteenth-century Spain. They contributed to naturalise the modes of representation adapted to the formal qualities resulting from the use of new techniques and materials. Printing techniques exemplified this process of adaptation. Most consumers of printed images demanded the brilliancy and sketchiness suited to the lightness of genre pieces. Their taste was criticised as a sign of the pernicious effects of consumption. The terms in which these attacks were uttered were often gendered and they suggest that such 'depraved' taste was perceived as an alternative threatening the Cartesian paradigm that dominated visuality.

Dominant occularcentrism assumed an ideal –male– spectator whose perceptual acts were guided by reason and judgement. The shifting field of vision

presupposed in Goya's cartoons, in optical shows and in the stipples and aquatints sold in the shops of Madrid acknowledged the heterogeneous nature of their audience. It was only in their capacity as consumers that the previously disenfranchised members of this new class of spectators –women and the popular classes- could gain access to the public sphere.

In their newly acquired role as consumers, these spectators became subjected to other forms of manipulation that called their supposed agency and status as subjects into question. Forms of surveillance increasingly sophisticated were developed to study their behaviour and to analyse the patterns of consumption that it evidenced. But these same efforts to find new mechanisms of control can be regarded as a confirmation of the existence of a margin of freedom for the subject to operate.

Goya's repertory of popular types survived during the nineteenth century. His *majas* and bullfighters became representative of a notion of 'Spanishness' that sometimes served reactionary purposes. They were the picturesque characters described by travellers such as Richard Ford lingering idly in ruined squares and inn yards. The poverty of the settings that David Roberts rendered colourful and romantic replaced the prosperity of the busy markets and fairs that in the past century had symbolised the possibility of economic development. This was the end of the programs of reforms that Julián Marías identified with 'a potential Spain', ultimately truncated by wars and political instability.<sup>894</sup> When José Ximeno produced an aquatint to defend the cause of the future Ferdinand VII in 1808, he adopted Goya's *Capricho 43* as his model. In this print, the troubled prince assaulted by visions of

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<sup>894</sup> . Marías, J. *La España Posible en Tiempos de Carlos III*. Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1963.

death and destruction remained under God's eye, which had taken the place of Reason (fig. 94). In all these cases, the imagery remained the same, but its subversive potential was lost. It has been the purpose of this study to recover it.

## Appendix

1. Sempere y Guarinos, J. *Reflexiones sobre el Buen Gusto en las Ciencias y en las Artes. Traducción libre de la que escribió en italiano Luis Antonio Muratori, con un discurso sobre el gusto actual de los Españoles en la Literatura*. Madrid: Sancha, 1782.

### Text 1a

‘No se puede explicar bastante el influxo que tienen estas Artes en todas las demas que sirven, ó para remediar las necesidades de la vida, ó para aumentar sus comodidades. Quien mire solamente en ellas las mudas imágenes de las cosas, ó pasadas, ó distantes, acaso sospechará que es su mérito muy corto, para que se procure promoverlas con tanto empeño. Mas quien sepa que sin el dibuxo, y sin la exâctitud en las dimensiones, que por medio de ellas se adquiere, no huvieran podido las Artes Mecánicas salir de su rudeza primitiva, ni llegar á perfeccionarse; pensará de otra manera, y se convencerá fácilmente de su necesidad y de su importancia’ (pp. 276-78).

### Text 1b

‘Ninguno puede fomentar mas bien este estudio que los Príncipes, y personas poderosas: porque muchas experiencias piden un aparato, y tantos gastos, que no es capaz ningun particular de poder sufrirlos’ (p. 133).

## Text 1c

‘No es menos difícil acaso el dar á las cosas un semblante agradable, y que satisfaga la curiosidad, que el inventarlas... El que piensa... en presentar al público alguna producción de su ingenio, debe cuidar y estudiar el gusto de aquel, si quiere conseguir el premio de su trabajo’ (pp. 28-29).

## Text 1d

‘No solo nos deleytan las verdades desconocidas, sino aun acaso mucho mas la novedad del método y del estilo con que se nos presentan’ (p. 29).

2. Sempere y Guarinos, J. *Historia del Luxo y de las Leyes Suntuarias de España*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1788.

## Text 2a

‘Si no tuviese las artes, y ciencias que á muchos les parecen superfluas, impertinentes, y nada necesarias á la vida, sería la república alarbe: porque las necesidades de los unos se reparan con los gastos superfluos de los otros... Los que gastan sus haciendas, caudales, rentas y mayorazgos en vanos y demasiados arreos, y adornos de sus casas, y personas, en su modo son bienhechores de la república’ (pp. 210-11)

## Text 2b

‘Quanto pueda excitar los deseos, y exercitar la imaginacion, tanto puede ser objeto del luxo. ¿Y quién es capaz de circunscribir la esfera de los deseos y caprichos de los hombres y mugeres?’ (p. 164).

3. Piquer, A. *Lógica*. Madrid: Joaquin de Ibarra, 1771.

Text 3a

‘El Pueblo se gobierna mas por los sentidos que por la razon: los bienes sensibles le atraen, y los males sensibles le hacen temer y le contienen’ (p. 240).

Text 3b

‘El vulgo ínfimo que suelen llamar *de escaleras abajo*, es en esto de mejor condicion que el vulgo alto, que llaman *de escaleras arriba*. El Pueblo que constituye el primer vulgo regularmente se gobierna por las primeras nociones sensibles, y por las mas simples combinaciones del ingenio. En lo que es mas recondito recibe la ley de los que tiene por inteligentes, y se subordina. El vulgo elevado no es asi, porque se cree capaz de juzgar de todo, y lo hace con gran satisfacción, pero sin conocimiento, de modo que los errores del Pueblo en cosas substanciales siempre dimanen del vulgo superior á quien mira como Maestro’ (p. 86).

Text 3c

‘El objecto corporeo, animado del organo del sentido, hace impresion en él y en sus nervios, por los quales se comunica hasta la cabeza, donde está el origen de ellos. Asi que es preciso que el cerebro concorra con su ayuda al exercicio de las apariciones de los sentidos, no porque en él se hagan las sensaciones, sino por las leyes de la necesaria connexion con que en el cuerpo humano unas partes se socorren de otras, y todas juntas, se encaminan á mantener el prodigioso enlace’ (p. 19).

## Text 3d

‘No entienden bien la constitucion del hombre los que atribuyen al Alma operaciones intelectuales totalmente independientes del cuerpo, pues no pudiendo jamas pensar, discurrir, ni juzgar, sino con dependencia de las imagenes de la phantasía, que mira siempre como objetos inmediatos de sus conceptos, es preciso que obre siempre con dependencia del cuerpo que ha de concurrir con los sentidos á la produccion de tales representaciones... El objeto corporeo, arrimado al organo del sentido, hace impresion en él y en sus nervios, por los quales se comunica hasta la cabeza, donde está el origen de ellos. Asi que es preciso que el cerebro [*sic*] concorra con su ayuda al exercicio de las operaciones de los sentidos, no porque en él se hagan las sensaciones, sino por las leyes de la necesaria conexion con que en el cuerpo humano unas partes se socorren a otras’ (p. 19).

## Text 3d

‘Entiendo por pequeñas imaginaciones las que se llenan y satisfacen de cosas de ningun momento, y suelen hacer que el juicio las tenga por grandes, y se ocupe en ellas. Esto suele observarse en niños y mugeres, y por eso los vemos casi siempre ocupados en cosas pequeñisimas, mirandolas como grandes y dignas de su aplicacion. La moda, la cortesía, el adorno y la conversacion de estas mismas cosas es el atractivo de su juicio, como en los niños los juegos, las vagatelas, y las diversiones’ (p. 153).

4. Rodríguez de Campomanes, P. *Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular*. Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1774.



## Text 4a

‘Es preciso que los tres ramos de labranza, crianza, é industria se animen á el mismo tiempo y con igual proporcion’ (p. x).

## Text 4b

‘Conviene... no olvidar la extension del buen gusto en las tres nobles artes; y en el dibujo. Si todo esto no se hace comun en el Reyno, carecerán de gusto los géneros finos; y aun los ordinarios serán mas toscos de lo que conviene, para asegurar su despacho preferente’ (p. cv).

[‘The extension of good taste in the three Fine Arts and in drawing must not be neglected. If it does not become common to the whole country, fine goods will lack good taste and even ordinary products will be coarser than what is required to secure their quick and easy dispatch’]

## Text 4c

‘Hay oficios auxiliares, cuyo adelantamiento influye considerablemente en los demás. Unos dan facilidades.... Otros subministran materiales nuevos, como la hoja de lata, y el latón; cuyos materiales se debieron á la meditación, y á las indagaciones químicas’ (pp. 24-25).

## Text 4d

‘Del arte de la pintura y la escultura bien conocida está su virtud: pues á diez reales de ingredientes suele darle de valor diez mil ducados’ (p. 103).

5. Rodríguez de Campomanes, P. *Discurso Sobre la Educación Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento*. Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1775.

#### Text 5a

‘Dirá alguno: *¿qué ramo es este de los aguadores, para gastar en promoverle tantas palabras?* Respondo, que este ramo en Madrid, por exemplo, da ocupacion á un numero considerable de personas a costa de su trabajo, y surte al vecindario de un abasto tan necesario como el agua. Si no hubiese aguadores, serían tunos tres ó quatrocientas familias, que en la corte y país nativos se sostienen de esta especie de trabajo. No debe despreciarse ni descuidar alguno de los que dan honesta ocupacion al pueblo; ni a su penalidad y cortas ganancias se han de añadir zumbas y alusiones ridículas’ (vol. 5, p. 148).

#### Text 5b

‘El arte del gravado era casi desconocido, y la extensión de las imprentas dá ocupacion á muchos gravadores: lo mismo sucede con las cartas geográficas’ (vol. 3, pp. lxvii-lxix).

#### Text 5c

‘Quanto mas se camina en España al medio día, se aumenta la ociosidad en las mugeres; y esta á la verdad no mejora las costumbres. Los Moros, y orientales las tenían encerradas en el ocio. Estas costumbres no convienen á las Europeas’ (p. 362).  
[‘The more we advance towards Southern Spain, the more women are at leisure and their leisure does not contribute to improve their morals. Moors and Orientals kept them locked in that leisure but these customs do not suit European women’]

## Text 5d

‘Las artes sufren la inconstante duración de los caprichos humanos’ (p. 3).

## Text 5e

‘La prodigiosa combinacion de los colores y su sistemática disposicion en todas las obras del arte ¿qué otro fin han tenido, que representarles más perceptibles á la curiosidad de la *vista*? Y otras artes se han esmerado en auxiliarla, ó aumentarla respecto á los objetos delicados, que por su pequeñez ó distancia no podia distinguir, y huían de su jurisdiccion’ (pp. 5-6).

## Text 5f

‘Las artes admiten también otra division: ó imitan la naturaleza; y entonces es menester seguirla exâctamente, como hace el estatuario, ó el pintor, guiado del dibuxo, y lo mismo sucede al que coordina todas las producciones que constituyen el todo, o parte de la *historia natural*; para representarlas al vivo. Otras artes y oficios debieron su origen a una nueva combinacion de los objetos; y es lo que se llama invención, y son las más sugetas á alteraciones y modas’ (pp. 25-26).

6. *Pragmática sanción que S. M. se ha dignado de mandar publicar dirigida á la enmienda y reforma de los llamados vulgarmente Gitanos*. Madrid, 1783.

## Text 6a

‘Todo esto deberán practicarlo... de modo que el especial cuidado haga no continúe en dichas personas el nombre ni nota de gitanos, pues ni lo son de origen, ni tienen

infeccion alguna que pueda serles perjudicial...; y por lo mismo debe borrarse y olvidarse el nombre de Gitanos, siendo, como serán los que en lo sucesivo vivan aplicados á honestos trabajos, hombres buenos del estado general sin diferencia alguna' (n.p.).

7. Jovellanos, G. M. 'Memoria Sobre las Diversiones Públicas... Leída en la Junta Pública de la Real Academia de la Historia el 11 de Julio de 1796', in *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid, 1817.

#### Text 7a

'Otras naciones traen á danzar sobre las tablas los *dioses* y las *ninfas*, nosotros los *manolos* y *verduleras*' (p. 421).

#### Text 7b

'Para expresar mis ideas con mayor claridad y exâctitud, dividiré el pueblo en dos clases, una que trabaja, y otra que huelga. Comprenderé en la primera todas las profesiones que subsisten del producto de su trabajo diario; y en la segunda los que viven de sus rentas ó fondos seguros' (p. 398).

#### Text 7c

'Los nuestros se juntan á divertirse en las *romerías*, y allí es donde los reglamentos de policia les siguen e importunan... unos hombres freqüentemente congregados á solazarse y divertirse en comun, formaran siempre un pueblo unido y afectuoso... No hay fiesta, no hay concurrencia, no hay diversion en que [los jueces] no presenten al pueblo los instrumentos del poder y la justicia... el público no se divertirá mientras

no esté en plena libertad de divertirse, porque entre rondas y patrullas, entre corchetes y soldados, entre varas y bayonetas, la libertad se amedrenta, y la tímida e inocente alegría huye y desaparece' (pp. 401-403).

#### Text 7d

'Su vigilancia debería ... ser cierta y continua, pero invisible: ser conocida de todos, sin estar presente á ninguno' (p. 403).

8. *La Nada entre Dos Platos. Primera (segunda) carta á la bergamota, que escribia Clori... á su amiga Lisi*. Madrid, [c.1780].

#### Text 8a

'Primeramente hemos de abrir en la calle de La Montera una Tienda magnifica ... y sobsteniéndolas [habitaciones] antes en el ayre con el alado apeo de plumas, gasas, blondas, cintas y tafetanes de soplillo; y las cimentarías despues con barras de oro: este vestíbulo almagacénico se revestirá intercaladamente de espejos grandes finos, donde se vea por entero la colosal estantigue de la deformidable moda; y regios armarios, donde esten pintadas las lochas de Rafael de Urbino con todas las medallas de los emperadores romanos, de cuyas bocas estarán pendientes las aldavillas de los cajones, llenos de las infinitas, futuras y variables vagatelas seductoras del bello sexo femenino' (n.p.).

9. AGS, Sección Estado, leg. 8157, Bernardo del Campo's confidential correspondence, 1783-1786.

## Text 9a

‘Aqui tenemos ahora la muestra de pinturas en la Academia. Es cosa verdaderam[en]te pobre: la mayor parte retratos y mui pocos buenos, pero dentro de unos años creo que habra razonables Profesores, aunq[u]e nunca sobresalientes porque tienen poquisimo fuego y mucha soseria estas gentes. Ya te habrá d[ic]ho Ponz que de Arquitectura no sale en estos tiempos una obra suelta, elegante y de gusto’ (Letter from Campo to Llaguno, London, 19/5/1784. AGS).

## Text 9b

‘Estoi mui conforme contigo en lo que dices de Quadros de S[a]n Fran[cis]co aun sin haberlos visto. En esto y en otras muchas materias creo que se van aclarando y perfeccionando mis ideas, porque ahora tengo tiempo y serenidad para meditar en ellas .... Aqui se está miseramente de Pintores todo son retratistas y uno ó otro que se dá a diverso genero de obras apenas sabe preparar los colores para duracion’ (Letter from Campo to Llaguno, London, 29/1/1785).

## Text 9c

‘Ha dias que estoi con el antojo de tener el retrato de Mens [sic]. Ahora me he acordado y escribo a Ponz busque un Mozo que saque una copia del tuyo .... Hazme este gusto porque quiero que las Gentes de aqui conozcan la cara adusta que tenia aquel grande hombre’ (Letter from Campo to Bernardo de Iriarte, 5/5/1785, AGS, Estado, leg. 8157).

## Text 9d

‘Me gusta que saliese tan bien la copia del retrato de Mengs y ya estoy deseando verla, con otras que me tiene prontas el compadre Ponz’ (Campo to Tomás de Iriarte, 1/12/1785, AGS Secc. Estado, leg. 8157).

## Text 9e

‘Aqui se está miseramente de Pintores todo son retratistas y uno ó otro que se dá a diverso genero de obras apenas sabe preparar los colores para duracion’ (letter from Campo to Llaguno, 29/1/1785, AGS, Secc. Estado, leg. 8157).

## Text 9f

‘Te insinué dias pasados que estaba tratando con Grantham sobre el modo de que estableciesemos una especie de correspondencia entre dos sujetos de los dos Países para la mutua comunicacion de noticias literarias y cambio de libros... El sujeto que... se ofrece a ello por aca es Director del Museo y un bellissimo hombre’ (Letter from Campo to Llaguno, 06/ 05 / 1784, AGS Secc Estado, leg. 8157).

## Text 9g

‘Te remito quatro exemplares de la estampa retrato del Rey que ha grabado Carmona á instigación mia. Creo que ha de gustar a los inteligentes, como ha gustado aqui, señaladamente al Rey, que en estas cosas tiene mejor gusto que nadie; y así ha dado a Carmona la plaza de Gravador de Camara, que estaba vacante desde que murió Palomino... Dicen que en Londres se estiman y tienen buena salida estas cosas quando son excelentes, como lo es en realidad este retrato. Dime si habrá algún librero ó comerciante en estampas ... que quiera encargarse de vender cincuenta ó

cien de ellas al precio que ahi se juzgue que valen .... Si le hubiese, te las enviaré, y haremos este bien al pobre Carmona, que no sabe palabra de comerciar' (Llaguno to Campo, 3/1/1783, AGS Secc. Estado, leg. 8157).

Text 9h

'Es pues la diversión de moda de Madrid los tablones como dicen algunas remilgadas, esto es *des tableaux*, ó retablos, como el de Maese Pedro... esto se reduce a que entre varias gentes forman un grupo como si representasen algún lance histórico, pero es solo poniendose en actitud las gentes, sin hablar ni moverse, de manera que no es ni representacion ni pantomima' (Letter from Llaguno to Campo, AGS Secc. Estado, leg. 8157, April 1786?).



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### List of abbreviations

AGS: Archivo General de Simancas

BL: British Library

BM: British Museum

CSIC: Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas

FUE: Fundación Universitaria Española

IH: Iconografía Hispana

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## Illustrations



1. Francisco Goya, *A Walk in Andalucía*, 1777, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 275 x 190 cm.



2. Francisco Goya, *Dance on the banks of the Manzanares*, 1777, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 272 x 295 cm.



3. Francisco Goya, *The Blind Guitarist*, 1778, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 260 x 311 cm.



4. After Francisco Goya, *The Blind Guitarist*, c.1778, Madrid, Palacio de la Zarzuela, silk and wool, 245 x 311 cm.



5. Francisco Goya, *The Blind Guitarist*, c.1778, London, British Museum, etching, 39.5 x 57 cm.



6. Francisco Goya, *Tobacco Guards*, 1780, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 262 x 137 cm.



7. Francisco Goya, *Brawl at the Door of an Inn*, 1777, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 275 x 414 cm.

8. Francisco Goya, *The Abandonment of San Isidro*, 1764, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 44 x 44 cm.







8. Francisco Goya, *The Fair of Madrid*, 1779, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 258 x 218 cm.




9. Francisco Goya, *The Meadow of San Isidro*, 1788, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 44 x 94 cm.



9a. *The Meadow of San Isidro*, detail.



10. Luis Paret, *A Picnic at a Country Inn*, c. 1772-73, York, City Art Gallery, oil on canvas, 44.8 x 55.3 cm.



11. Francisco Goya, *The Picnic*, c.1785-90, London, National Gallery, oil on canvas, 41.3 x 25.8 cm.



12. Francisco Goya, *Summer, The Harvest*, 1786, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 276 x 641 cm.



12a. Francisco Goya, *Summer, The Harvest*, 1786, Madrid, Museo Lazaro Galdiano, oil on canvas, 33.5 x 79.5 cm.



13. Stubbs, George, *Haymakers*, 1783, London, Tate Gallery, oil on wood, 89.5 x 135.3 cm.



14. Juan de la Cruz after Luis Paret, *Aldeana de las Cercanías de Bilbao*, 1779-83, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, etching, 27.9 x 18.5 cm.



15. Francisco Goya, *Sketch for the Blind Man's Buff*, 1788, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 41 x 44 cm.



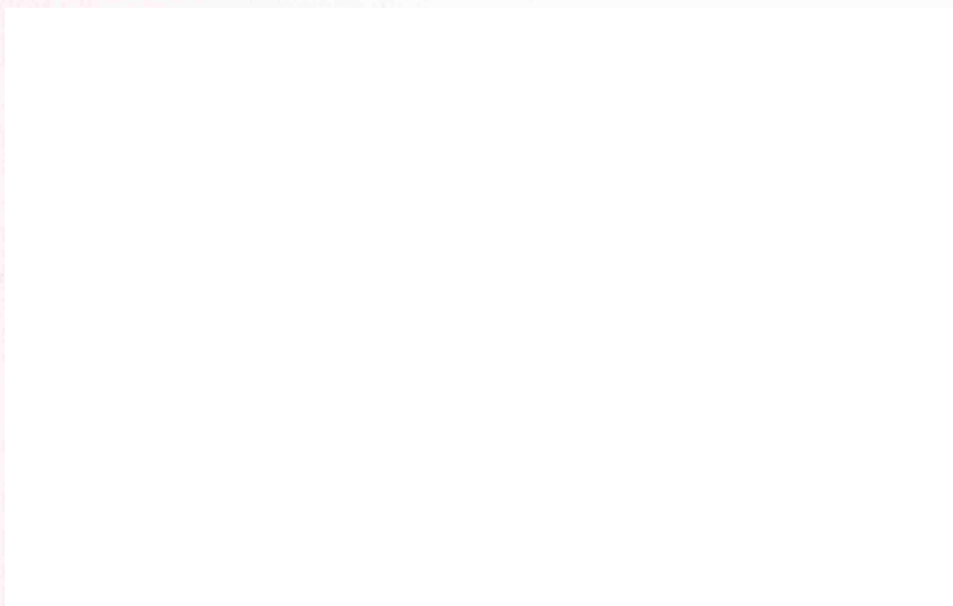
16. Francisco Goya, *The Blind Man's Buff*, 1788-89, Madrid Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 269 x 350 cm.



17. Luis Paret, *Baile en Mascara*, c.1767, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on wood, 40 x 51 cm.



18. Luis Paret, *Comedia de Carnaval*, c.1770, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on wood, 40 x 51 cm.



18. Luis Paret, *Masque Ball*, c.1767, London, British Museum, wash and ink, 30.4 x 49.2 cm.



19. Luis Paret, *Comedy Rehearsal*, c.1772-73, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 38 x 51 cm.

21. Diego de Silva, *Allegorical Lady*, 17th century, Collection, oil on canvas, 63 x 70 cm.



20. Mengs, Anton Rafael, *Portrait of the Marchioness of El Llano*, c.1771, Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, oil on canvas, 250 x 148 cm.



21. Diego de Silva y Velázquez, *Lady with a Fan*, c. 1630-50, London, Wallace Collection, oil on canvas, 95 x 70 cm.



22. Luis Paret, *The Trinket Shop*, 1772, Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, oil on canvas, 49 x 57 cm.

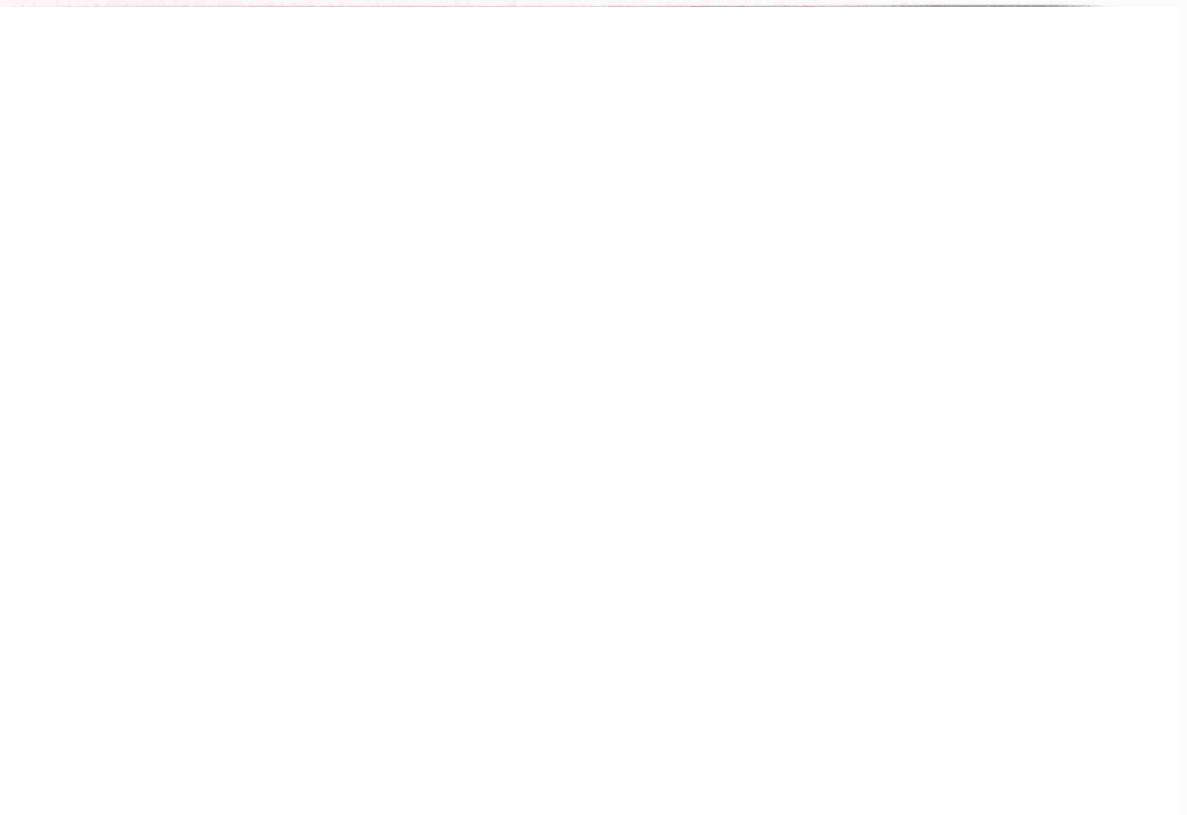


23. Luis Paret, *The Letter*, c.1772, Madrid, Private Collection, oil on wood, 37 x 29 cm.





24. Francisco Goya, *The Doctor*, 1779, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, oil on canvas, 95.8 x 120.2 cm.



25. Matías de Irala, *Fernando VI*, c.1739, Madrid, Palacio Real, etching, 25 x 37 cm.



26. William Sharp after Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of John Hunter*, 1788, London, National Portrait Gallery, engraving, 51 x 38.3 cm.



27. Francisco Goya, *Card Players*, 1778, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 270 x 167 cm.



28. Francisco Goya, *The Wounded Man*, 1788, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 270 x 110 cm.



28. Francisco Goya, *The Drunken Mason*, 1786, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 35 x 15 cm.



29. Francisco Goya, *The Wounded Mason*, c. 1786, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 268 x 110 cm.



30. Reinier Vinkeles after Pieter Camper, *Comparative skulls, young & old*, 1768, London, British Library, etching, 27.5 x 46 cm.



31. Reinier Vinkeles after Pieter Camper, *Children's heads*, 1772, London, British Library, etching, 27.5 x 46 cm.



32. Luis Paret, *Castilian Costume*, c.1784, Madrid, Royal Palace, oil on wood, 62 x 40 cm.





33. Luis Paret, *The Rosary*, c.1784, Madrid, Royal Palace, oil on copper, 57 x 40 cm.



34. Luis Paret, *Esclava de Puerto Rico*, c.1772-78, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, wash and ink, 27 x 18 cm (approx.).



35. Luis Paret, *Self-portrait*, c. 1786, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 40 x 32 cm.



36. Francisco Goya, *Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos*, 1798, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 205 x 133 cm.





37. William Hogarth, *Self-portrait with Pug*. *Gulielmus Hogarth*, 1749, London, British Museum, etching and engraving, proof, 37.2 x 27.1 cm.



38. Francisco Goya, *Capricho 43. El Sueño de la Razón produce Monstruos*, 1797-98, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, etching and aquatint, 21.6 x 15.2 cm.



39. Luis Paret, *View of the Arenal in Bilbao*, c. 1783, Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes, oil on canvas, 73 x 109 cm.



40. William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, plate I, 1753, London, British Museum, etching, 38.5 x 49.8 cm.



41. Luis Paret, *View of El Arenal de Bilbao*, 1784, London, National Gallery, oil on wood, 60.3 x 83.2 cm.



42. Luis Paret, *View of La Concha, San Sebastián*, 1786, Madrid, Palacio de la Zarzuela, oil on canvas, 82 x 120 cm.



43. Luis Paret, *View of Fuenterrabía*, 1786, Caen, Musée des Beaux Arts, oil on canvas, 80 x 121 cm.



44. Luis Paret, *View of Fuenterrabía*, c.1783, Bilbao, Museo de Bellas Artes, oil on canvas, 85.3 x 100 cm. (approx.).



45. William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty, plate II*, 1753, London, British Museum, etching, 38.5 x 49.8 cm.



46. William Hogarth, *Beer Street*, c.1751, London, British Museum, etching and engraving, 38.3 x 32.5 cm.



47. Luis Paret, *View of Bermeo*, 1783, Barcelona, Private Collection, oil on copper, 60.3 x 82.2 cm.



48. Luis Paret, *View of the Port of Pasajes*, c. 1786, Madrid, Palacio de la Zarzuela, oil on canvas, 82 x 120 cm.



49. Luis Paret, *Docks of Olaveaga*, c.1783-86, ~~London~~, Upton House, oil on canvas, 67.3 x 94 cm.



50. Luis Paret, *Marine with Figures*, c.1786, Madrid, Museo Cerralbo, oil on canvas, 70 x 75 cm.



51. Luis Paret, *Charles III's Dinner at Court*, 1768-74, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on wood, 50 x 64 cm.



52. Anonymous, *Correo General, Carta VIII*, c.1763, London, British Library, woodcut, 2.6 x 6.2 cm.



53. Luis Paret, *Promenade in front of the Botanical Garden*, c.1780-99, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on wood, 58 x 86.5 cm.





54. J. Lodge after T. Milne, *Frontispiece, Essay on Vision*, 1789, London, British Library, folio.



55. Matías de Irala, *Amphiteatrum Matritense*, 1728, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, etching, 20.5 x 15 cm.



56. Matías de Irala, *Pintura Práctica*, c.1739, Madrid, Biblioteca Real, etching, 20.5 x 15 cm (approx.).



57. Matías de Irala, *Anatomía*, plate 2, 1728, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, etching, 17.3 x 11 cm.



58. Bowles after G. Adams, *Micrographia*, pl.18, c.1771, London, British Library, etching, 8°



59. Matías de Irala, *Academia Simetrica Matritensis*, c.1739, Madrid, Biblioteca Real, etching, 20.5 x 15 cm (approx.).



60. Attributed to Luis Paret, *Scene of Witchcraft*, c.1760-99, London, The British Museum, wash, ink and body-colour, 33 x 27.5 cm.



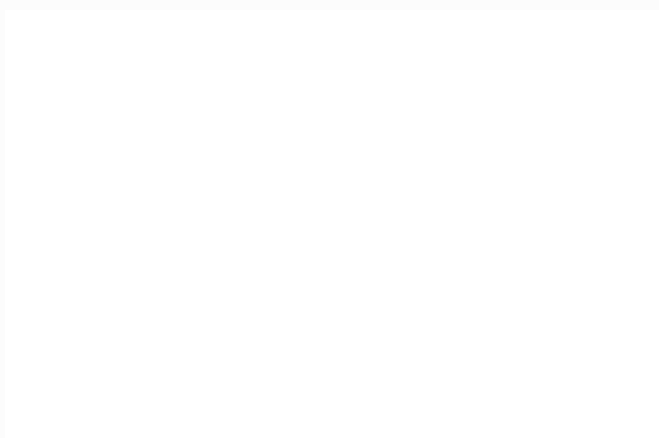
61. Francisco Goya, *The Crockery Vendor*, 1779, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 259 x 220 cm.



62. Francisco Goya, *Hercules and Omphale*, 1784, Madrid, Private Collection, oil on canvas, 81 x 64.5 cm.



63. Manuel de la Cruz, *The Fair of Madrid at the Plaza de la Cebada*, c.1780-90, Madrid, Museo Municipal, oil on canvas.



- 62a Manuel de la Cruz, *The Fair of Madrid*, detail.





64. Luis Paret, *Portrait of Maria Luisa*, c.1765-75, London, British Museum, ink and wash, 35 x 24.3 cm.



65. Juan Antonio Salvador Carmona, *The Princess of Asturias*, 1778, Madrid, Museo Municipal, etching and engraving, 23.3 x 35.8 cm.



66. Luis Paret, *Woman seated on a sofa*, c. 1770-75, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ink, 25.9 x 18 cm.



67. Antonio González Velázquez, *Study for a portrait of a woman*, 1781, London, British Museum, ink and wash, 23 x 15.8 cm.



68. José Camarón, *Woman in Turkish Costume*, c. 1770-90, London, British Museum, ink, wash and graphite, 21.4 x 14.9 cm.



69. Carle Van Loo, *A Sultana having coffee*, c. 1755, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, oil on canvas.



70. Luis Paret, *Portrait of Micaela Nieves Fourdinier, the artist's wife*, c.1780-89, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on copper, 37 x 28 cm.




71. Luis Paret, *Parejas Reales*, 1770, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 232 x 365 cm.




72. Francisco Goya, *Letter to Zapater*, 1784, Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, 4°.



73. Goodenough?, *The Camera Obscura and Solar Microscope*, c.1771, London, British Library, etching, 4°



74. Bowles after Adams, *Micrographia*, pl. 63, c.1771, London, British Library, etching, 29.3 x 18 cm (approx.).



75. Bowles after Adams, *Micrographia*, pl. 71, c.1771, London, British Library, etching, 8°



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76. Bowles after Adams, *Micrographia*, pl. 66, c.1771, London, British Library, etching, 8°

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77. Juan de la Cruz, *Art of Dyeing*, pl. 13, 1778, London, British Library, etching, fol.



78. Juan de la Cruz, *Art of Dyeing*, pl. 9a, 1778, London, British Library, etching, fol.





79. Francisco Goya, *Self-portrait in the Studio*, c.1790-95, Madrid, Private Collection, oil on canvas, 42 x 28 cm.



80. Caroline Watson after Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Self-portrait*, c.1798, London, British Library, mezzotint, 8°



81. Francisco Goya, *The Strolling Players*, 1793, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on tinsplate, 43 x 32 cm.



82. Anonymous, *Satire*, c. 1780, London, British Museum, etching, 25.1 x 37.6 cm.



83. Hendrick Mommers, *View from the Pont Neuf*, c1660-69, Co. Durham, The Bowes Museum, oil on canvas, 122.8 x 93.6 cm.



84. Francisco Goya, *Picador caught by the bull*, 1793, New York, Private Collection, oil on tinplate, 40 x 30 cm.



85. Francisco Goya, *Prison Scene*, c.1793-94, County Durham, The Bowes Museum, oil on tinplate, 42.9 x 31.7 cm.



86. Francisco Goya, *Fire at Night*, 1793, San Sebastián, Private Collection, oil on tinfoil, 50 x 32 cm.



87. Francisco Goya, *Sorting the Bulls*, 1793, Paris, Private Collection, oil on tinfoil, 42.5 x 31.5 cm (detail).



88. Francisco Goya, *The Duke and Duchess of Osuna with their Children*, 1788, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 225 x 174 cm.



89. Francisco Goya, *The Grape Harvest*, 1786-87, Madrid, Museo del Prado, oil on canvas, 275 x 190 cm.



90. François Boucher, *Shepherd's Idyll*, 1768, New York, Metropolitan Museum, oil on canvas, 240 x 237.5 cm.



91. Richard Earlom after Diego Velázquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos*, c.1784, London, British Museum, mezzotint, 16.2 x 12.8 cm.



92. Francisco Goya, *Portrait of Bartolomé Sureda*, c.1804, Washington DC, National Gallery, oil on canvas, 119.7 x 79.4 cm.



93. Bartolomé Sureda after H. Schultz, *View of Kensington Gardens*, c.1798, Yale, Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, aquatint, 4°.





94. José Ximeno, *The Prince of Asturias in Exile*, c.1808, London, British Library, etching and aquatint, 8°